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THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC CRISIS OF 1965

16 August 1966

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PREFACE

This study presents an account of the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic crisis of April-May 1965. It is one of a series prepared by the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group in response to DJSM 1111-61 and other JCS authorizations, in accordance with which WSEG has been conducting studies of command problems and procedures and decision making during recent critical incidents. The overall purpose of these studies is to provide empirical data concerning the operation of the national military command structure ~~in actual crisis situations, in order to~~ aid, through understanding and recognition of the phenomena of crises, in the development of an improved command and control system.

The specific purpose of the study has been to examine in detail the operation of command and control at the several levels of authority involved, emphasizing the flow of action from the decision-making level to the operator in the field. The interaction of the several military command levels and the interaction between the military and political functions have been the two points of concentration.

The report is based upon an exhaustive analysis of message traffic, telephone traffic, logs, reports, and other records within the JCS. In addition, key personnel were interviewed in Washington, Santo Domingo, CINCLANT, and Fort Benning, Georgia.

All of the headquarters and command levels involved eventually produced reports on their role in the crisis. In addition, the politically controversial character of the U.S. intervention led to Congressional hearings, for which massive back-up material was prepared. The command reports were all essentially of a broad "lessons learned" nature, and as such, represent important complementary material to this study which has focused on the command and control and

decision-making aspects. The JCS produced two "lessons learned" studies, one in May 1965 and a more detailed version in October 1965; the XVIIIth Airborne Corps and the 82nd Airborne Division produced "Stability Operations in the Dominican Republic." An interesting "Analysis of Operations," comparing the Dominican affair with Marine operations at Chulai, South Vietnam, in May 1965, was undertaken by the JCS in June 1965 and elicited much useful information from the various commands involved. In their complementary capacity, the JCS and the command reports should be read for a level of procedural and operational detail not included in this study.

The unparalleled access of the press to the U.S. activities during the crisis meant that public accounts at the time were fuller and more accurate than usual. In addition, numerous articles and several books by journalists later appeared.

One major source of data was not available. This was the transcript of the closed hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July 1965 during which key military and State Department personnel testified. No complete copy of the transcript was ever sent to the Pentagon nor did individuals testifying receive transcripts of their own testimony. However, leaks to the press from the testimony in November 1965 and later, support much of what can be inferred from but not proven by the existing available official records.

INTRODUCTION

The Dominican crisis of 1965 was one of the sharpest and most controversial in which the U.S. has been involved. It arose almost without warning at a time when U.S. attention was concentrated upon the increased commitment to Vietnam. The Caribbean area, with the exception of the minor trouble in Panama in January 1964 and Haiti in April 1963, had been quiescent ever since the Cuban missile crisis of October-November 1962. Within a few days in April 1965, the U.S. was compelled to take drastic steps which it found distasteful but necessary. Coming on the heels of the Administration's decision to intervene massively in Vietnam and in view of the clouded character of the issues at stake in Santo Domingo, the U.S. intervention provoked a storm of contention which has even yet not subsided.

This report does not presume to pass judgment on the U.S. intervention, even with the benefit of a year's hindsight. In the last analysis the decisions made were based upon specific individual judgment, in an environment of grossly inadequate intelligence on what was actually happening in Santo Domingo. Under the circumstances, the key personnel often tended to act on the basis of long-held preconceptions rather than upon hard facts of the moment.

What is described herein is the anatomy of a crisis. In order to preserve the full flavor of that crisis, the events therein have been described in considerable detail. It was felt that any distillation could not truly transmit the inexorable pressures of time and events under which the participants functioned. This report attempts to describe the hour-by-hour development of the crisis, the perceptions of that crisis as held by operators and decision makers in Santo Domingo and Washington, and the problems encountered in responding to

that crisis. Some of these problems were real, some apparent; some were temporary, others were long term.

Many threads run through this story - intelligence estimates, both political and military; operational problems of alerting and deployment; planning; decision making and decision transmitting; political-military coordination in the field; information flow; command organization. These threads never appeared individually in isolation. They were always inextricably intertwined, and this is how the problems deriving from them were met by the decision makers and the commanders. To separate them into discrete categories for discussion in the body of the paper would again tend to lose the flavor of the crisis, and would transform this report from the description of the anatomy of a crisis to more of a policy analysis.

While the main point of concentration is essentially upon the military problems involved, great attention is paid to all issues of political-military coordination. This was an overwhelmingly political crisis, since there was never any doubt about the U.S. military capability to achieve whatever objective it chose. An ambassador and several successive military commanders worked or tried to work as closely as possible, in what is probably the best example of this sort of crisis field cooperation and its ramifications that has yet occurred. Both the successful and the unsuccessful aspects of this merit close examination. The overall political situation is considered in detail since this was the environment into which a U.S. military force was introduced, and the nature of the environment, in its numerous transformations, controlled the character of military operations.

Because of the numerous abbreviations and personal names which appear in the text, a glossary and a list of key personnel are provided for the reader's convenience, along with a chronology of U.S. military actions, in Appendix D.

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I. THE DOMINICAN BACKGROUND

The fabled island of Hispaniola, the island of Columbus and site of the first European settlement in the New World, has, since the end of the Spanish Empire, been undoubtedly the most wretched territory of all Latin America. Haiti and the Dominican Republic have each a record of misgovernment, anarchy, and brutality, unbroken save for periods of U.S. occupation,[1] and matched only by the state at the other end of the same island. The nation which fell under the control of General Rafael Trujillo in 1930 was no stranger to his methods.[2]

While Trujillo did succeed to some degree in bringing the Dominican Republic into the modern world, he simultaneously blotted out the political life of the country, so that with his assassination in May 1961, the suppressed desires of the nation exploded in a formless fashion with no recognized leader available to channel those drives constructively. With the possibility of unrestrained violence, exploitable by Cuba, overhanging the country, the U.S. positioned an amphibious force off the island during the most critical period of the change of regime. American diplomacy played a major role during the next seven months, creating the patchwork government which kept the country functioning. However, between May 1961 and September 1965, the Dominican Republic was to have seven governments.

In December 1961, a U.S.-supported Council of State was installed which held a caretaker post until general elections could be held in December 1962. It took, in other words, eighteen months to achieve even a modicum of stability necessary for the holding of elections.

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[1] American military visits to the Dominican Republic are of very long standing. The earliest, a cutting out expedition against pirates in the harbor of Puerto Plata, was carried out by United States Marines in the year 1800.

[2] The country covers an area of 18,703 square miles, and contains a population of some 3.3 million. The capital, Santo Domingo, held some 375,000 people as of 1960.

Even the Council of State was not free of travail. Two weeks after it was installed it was overthrown by a military coup headed by the Secretary of State for Armed Forces, and then restored two days later when said Secretary was himself arrested by other military elements.

The elections of December 1962, the first honestly and democratically held in the country's history, brought to the presidency Dr. Juan Bosch, an idealistic writer, social reformer and political scientist and long-time opponent of Trujillo, who had lived in exile for the previous twenty-four years. Bosch's victory was overwhelming, having won 60 percent of the total vote and twice as much as his nearest rival. The hostility of the old elite which felt its traditional prerogatives threatened immediately became obvious. Even under Trujillo, they had been given assignments befitting their own sense of social station.

The program of social and economic reform of Bosch's party, the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), was not, in fact, very radical, and was generally moderate, sensible, and long overdue. Nevertheless, Bosch's inadequacy as an administrator and the lack of shrewd administrative talent to assist him tended to keep alive the fears and hatreds between classes and groups. His policies, probably unintentionally, did not promote reconciliation.

In addition, his permissive attitude toward the Communists caused alarm. As an idealist he opposed restrictions on any group and permitted the Communists to return from their exile by previous governments. These soon began their old propaganda compaigns. Bosch's opponents used his permissiveness as a weapon against him, and conservative elements in the country organized protest marches in August and September 1963 against what they claimed to be the rising influence in and growing infiltration of the government by leftists.

In September 1963, Bosch was overthrown in a quick and bloodless military coup led by one Colonel Wessin y Wessin, on the grounds that Bosch's alleged leftist proclivities were slowly delivering the country into the hands of the Communists. Curiously, there was little support

for Bosch in response to the coup. The U.S. which had initially enthusiastically supported Bosch had by this time cooled somewhat, presumably for the same reason. Nevertheless, the Kennedy Administration angrily broke relations with the new junta and did not restore them until several months later.

In the meantime one of the ruling triumvirate, Donald Reid Cabral, had become the senior member and to all intents and purposes acted as president. Though his rule was authoritarian, it was not dictatorial by Dominican standards, and he began a few efforts at reform of the economy, the bureaucracy and the military. Reid was liked by local U.S. officials and he himself was known for his close links to American interests in the country.

The triumvirate government had been under almost constant criticism. Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) and left wing groups insistently condemned the lack of a constitutional government and agitated for the return of constitutionality. Among people who had never yet received the better lives expected after the death of Trujillo, the call for constitutionality had a wide appeal. Military elements, dissatisfied for one reason or another with the government's policies, were frequently involved in plots against it, and some of the plots were only narrowly averted.

Elections were scheduled for September 1965 as the first step in returning to constitutional government. It was widely accepted that Reid would be a candidate, but many groups suspected that he would either postpone the elections because he lacked a solid political base or would manipulate them to assure his own succession. Reid had antagonized the old Trujillo group of military leaders because, in his efforts to clean up the military structure, he had ousted some of them. He was also in disfavor with the middle and lower ranking officers because they felt he was not moving rapidly enough in his reform measures. Some of the latter group were "young Turks", strongly pro-Bosch and opposed to Wessin and his clique.

The problem of reorganizing the armed forces and police had faced successive governments since 1961. None had been successful, but Reid was doing more than his predecessors. In January 1965 a mission headed by USCINCSOUTH, General O'Meara, had visited the Dominican Republic to discuss military problems. This visit presumably encouraged Reid to tighten his control of the military, and shortly thereafter he had made several changes in the senior military ranks, removing those involved in graft or who were ineffective, and replacing them with men he considered more capable and more willing to carry out reforms. He had made no move, however, to reduce the size of the military establishment, despite the drain it imposed on his economic program. The services were all pinched, to some extent, however, and their resentment over this unusual situation soon became manifest.

Political parties in general were poorly organized for the coming elections. Ex-President Balaguer's Reformist Party (PR) and the PRD displayed the greatest capability, but unless their two exiled leaders were able to return for the campaign, their chances of winning seemed slight. Both Bosch and Balaguer feared Reid would prevent their return just for this purpose.

Three left wing parties, the Moscow-oriented Dominican Popular Socialist Party (PSPD), the Peiping-oriented Dominican Popular Movement (MCP), and the pro-Castro 14th of June Political Group (APCJ) were all illegal and unable to participate in the elections under their own names. These three groups, together with the PRD and the small local Christian Revolutionary Party (PRSC), formed the political base for the revolution that was about to break.

There were, in addition, numerous minor parties of varying political hues. The PRD had won a sweeping victory in the 1962 elections, but had lost ground with Bosch's exile and had fragmented. The PSPD in April 1965 had an estimated strength of about 1,000 well-indoctrinated members; the MCP 300-800; and the APCJ, originally a non-Communist organization formed to fight Trujillo, was the largest with an estimated 3-4,000 plus 20,000 sympathizers. Because of its background, it

still had many non-Communist members, but the leadership was believed by U.S. intelligence to have come under Communist control in 1963. In the months preceding April 1965, the leftist groups were the most vocal in calling for a return to constitutional government.[1] The outlook for the country was not, therefore, very promising. The U.S. Ambassador, W. Tapley Bennett, reported early in the year his belief that "we were almost on the ropes in the Dominican Republic." Nevertheless, it appears certain that the revolt took him by surprise.

A. IMMEDIATE BACKGROUND TO THE REVOLT

It has been proven extremely difficult to prepare a documented account of the plotting against the government in the months prior to April 1965. Some of this was known to U.S. intelligence and embassy sources; some was not. Accounts prepared or offered by Dominican sources in the aftermath of the revolt must naturally be suspect since self-justification was the order of the day on all sides. Estimates of intentions and aspirations especially must therefore be considered to be speculative.

The conspiracy which opened the revolt was planned by a group of young officers, mainly from the 1st and 2nd Infantry Battalions in camps near Santo Domingo, and the PRD.[2] The interests of the two groups coincided since the junior officers probably believed that military reform could be effected much more rapidly by the return to power of Bosch. The PRD, for their part, had never ceased to regard themselves as the legitimate heirs to political power because of their honest election victory of 1962. Apparently their plotting began in September 1964 and a target date of 1 June 1965 was established.

As is customary in Latin American intrigues, rumor soon began to spread. [

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[1] Much of the above information comes from DIA, Special Intelligence Supplement, Background and Assessment of the Dominican Situation, 21 October 1965, SECRET-NOFORN.

[2] Joint Staff, Dominican Republic Fact Sheet, prepared for CJCS use in Congress, 1200 hours, 29 April 1965, SECRET.

In addition, reports received at CINCLANT as late as April 12 indicated the existence of at least two separate groups plotting Reid's overthrow.

The Reid government itself had information several weeks before 24 April that Bosch, certain PRD elements, and a group of junior officers were involved in a plot to overthrow Reid and reinstate Bosch. One faction of the PRSC which had allied itself with Bosch and the PRD was probably also involved. In addition, apparently some of the PRD members of the conspiracy had approached the MPD several days prior to the revolt to ask their support in an attempted coup. Reports also had Bosch in touch with certain segments of the APSJ, seeking propaganda support for his return.[2]

Reid himself was later to claim that he had known of the plot fifteen days before the outbreak, while Wessin told a reporter in August 1965 that "I had reported the conspiracy to President Reid for fifteen or twenty consecutive days, but he did not pay any attention to me."

The military plotting group apparently was divided concerning objectives. One element planned to replace the triumvirate with a military junta which would hold early elections with all parties and party leaders participating. Another element had been secretly conspiring with Bosch and the PRD to take advantage of the confusion that would attend a coup attempt to seize control of the situation and to restore Bosch to the presidency. The move was planned to take place about 1 June, when the campaign for the September elections was about to begin. Bosch, however, later told reporters that the revolt was actually planned for the 26th of April.

There may also have been some outside intervention into the situation at this point. The XVIII Airborne Corps report on their role

[1] Interview, U.S. Embassy, Santo Domingo, 9 August 1965.
[2] CINCLANT to JCS, 261438Z June 1965, Resume and Analysis of Dominican Republic Operation, SECRET.

in the Dominican affair claimed that during the period April 9-23, 22 Cuban-trained agents and 20 more agents trained in Russia, China, or the Soviet Bloc entered the Dominican Republic with forged passports or via covert night entry. This entry presumably was prompted by the intention to exploit the instability of the political scene.[1] The source of this information, however, has not been ascertained.

The fact that the government knew of the plotting led to a premature implementation of the coup attempt. [redacted]

[redacted] Consequently, Reid acted and on the 24th of April ordered seven officers discharged for involvement in the plot. Furthermore, Reid was well aware that the PRD considered themselves the legal government and were not going to rely on purely legal methods to regain it.

The Army Chief of Staff, Brigadier General Rivera Cuesta, went during the morning of the 24th to one of the Army camps near Santo Domingo, known as the 16th of August Camp, to arrest personally those officers known to be key plotters. Instead he and his handful of aides were seized by the camp garrison and imprisoned. This was the catalyst. The plot leaders were aware now of the government's knowledge of the conspiracy and were thus compelled by events to order the coup implemented.[1]

Two points of significance should be noted. In the first place, apparently there was no single coherent coordinated plot with a single agreed set of objectives. The plotters, the Army "young Turks" and the PRD primarily, were not specifically after the same objective. For most of the Army plotters, Army reform was sought first and the return of Bosch was a means to achieve that reform. For the PRD, the return of Bosch was an end in itself.

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[1] XVIII Airborne Corps, Stability Operations in the Dominican Republic, no date, SECRET.

[redacted]

Secondly, the premature implementation of the plot probably resulted in many unforeseen consequences, the most critical of which was the opportunity it offered the extremist groups.

II. U.S. CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

U.S. contingency plans for operations in the Dominican Republic had existed since the last days of the Trujillo era. The Commander, Nineteenth Air Force and the Commanding General, XVIIIth Airborne Corps, had assisted CINCLANT since April 1962 in contingency planning for Haiti and the Dominican Republic. This was in accord with JCS instructions to CINCSTRIKE to designate commanders for such planning assistance.

The plan in effect when the crisis broke was [ ] Originally approved 10 March 1964, the designation had been changed on 2 October 1964 to [ ] and approved by JCS SM 54-65 of 21 January 1965. JCS SM 249-65 of 18 March 1965 had again redesignated the plan as [ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[1] The October change was not entered in the J-3 copy of the [ ] plan until 29 April.

The command organization for Dominican operations was Joint Task Force 122. This consisted of the Second Fleet staff augmented to form a joint task force, in existence for planning only until activated for operations. Operational command would then be exercised by CJTF 122 through CINCLANT to the JCS. The Commander JTF 122 under Plan [redacted] would be prepared to:

Initial combat operations would emphasize the restoration of law and order in the objective area. As soon as practicable, action would be taken to control those facilities through which governmental control is exercised, appropriate objectives including docks, terminals, communications centers, barracks, power plants, water works, military and police headquarters, governmental buildings and facilities.

Posttactical operations would shift in emphasis to civil affairs and counterinsurgency activities.

The CINCLANT plans staff in late April had just completed a review of [ ] after the JCS change of March. The plan was then extremely current in its essence and concepts of operations. The differences would appear in certain of the supporting annexes.

A. THE XVIII AIRBORNE CORPS PLAN

The Army Task Force Plan under [ ] was the responsibility of the Headquarters staff XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg. Their plan was subject to review by CONARC in his capacity as CINCARSTRIKE and by the JTF 122 staff under its normal nonactivated planning role.

On April 24, the day the Dominican crisis began, the XVIII Airborne Corps was prepared to execute, in support of the CINCLANT OPLAN, its own [ ] dated 20 June 1963. [C]

[ ]

[ ]

This confusion and misunderstanding in regard to force level persisted long after the crisis. Lt. General Palmer, the U.S. Commander Dominican Republic, stated in a draft report as late as mid-June that the "CINCLANT OPLAN for the Dominican Republic called for a Marine BLT and a two-battalion airborne brigade, a total of three infantry battalions."

[redacted] in fact, called for the equivalent of ten infantry battalions.

III. THE CRISIS BREAKS

In detailing the development of the crisis, the main reliance will be on U.S. messages and phone calls, in an essentially chronological sequence, in order to present the situation as the U.S. command authorities saw it. However, in places, confusion and contradiction were extreme and here narrative text, based upon our later knowledge, will be interpolated, describing what was actually happening.

The first news of the commencement of the outbreak came to the Dominican people soon after noon on the 24th of April. Between 1330 and 1400 local time, the PRD party press and publicity secretary, during a regular PRD political radio program, announced that the military had revolted against Reid and that the Army Chief of Staff and other Army officers were being held prisoner. He called on the people to join the revolt.

At the 16th of August Camp, the rebellious officers apparently started distributing arms to veterans groups and to all who desired tnem. It was announced on the radio that arms were available.[1]

It was at 1530 hours when the first notification of the developing situation was transmitted to Washington.[2] A CRITIC message from the Embassy stated that Santo Domingo was rife with rumors of a coup, promoted by an announcement over two radio stations that a number of Army officers, including the Chief of Staff, had been ousted. Word of the overthrow of the government had brought crowds into the street. The government, about 1300, had announced a nationwide curfew as of 1600, but the government radio station, Radio Santo Domingo, was

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[1] DIA, Background and Assessment.

[2] Washington and Santo Domingo are both in the same time zone, local time being ZULU time minus five hours. However, Daylight Saving Time came into effect on April 25, so that local time became ZULU minus four hours. Within the body of the text, all times will be given in local time (EDT until midnight on 24 April, DST after that) but message citations in the footnotes will retain their ZULU date time groups.

taken over shortly thereafter by a group representing "young and honest" military officers who urged the people into the streets to celebrate. The station had called all "constitutional" forces to resist "exploiters," and denied that the government was in a position to enforce a curfew.

The message went on to say that the Embassy "believed the Dominican government to be in trouble," but that there was no evidence that it had been overthrown. The seizure of Radio Santo Domingo was seen as an isolated incident.[1]

The message was signed by the Deputy Chief of Mission, William Connett, a member of the Embassy staff for the previous five months, who was in charge in the absence of Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett. Bennett had gone to the U.S. the day before, Friday, for reasons which are obscure. One account gives the purpose of the visit as purely personal, to attend to family affairs; another states that he sensed the coming explosion and wished to confer with the Department over it. He was at his family home in Georgia when the crisis broke and did not reach Washington until Sunday. He was not to return until the afternoon of Tuesday, April 27, so that Connett played a key role in conditioning the Washington outlook with his analyses and observations of the first three days.

Bennett's absence is especially unusual since, the day before his departure, he had mentioned in his regular weekly report to State that there were again rumors that some generals might try to overthrow Reid during the weekend. However, he had apparently not taken these seriously, terming them the usual Santo Domingo rumors.

[1] American Embassy, Santo Domingo (hereafter called AmEmb) to DIRNSA, 242030Z April 1965, CRITIC.

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A following message provided some background information, stating that the coup attempt appeared to have been sparked by the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) in collaboration with some military and police elements. An ominous note was provided by the first suggestion that extreme leftists were believed to be lending support.[3]

DIA, in its October 1965 report, claims that the U.S. Army Attache visited the 16th of August Camp during the afternoon but was told that Army Chief of Staff Rivera Cuesta could not be seen and that an uprising had occurred which proposed to install a military junta. This information, especially the very significant last point, does not appear to have been passed on to Washington. At least no record of it exists. Since the question of the rebels' objective assumed considerable importance, such information was vital to Washington. It indicated what was not known then, that apparently the military plotters were divided in their objectives. One element planned to replace Reid with a military junta which would hold early elections with all parties and party leaders participating. Another group, however, had been covertly conspiring with the PRD and perhaps with Bosch himself, although this has never been fully confirmed, to exploit the confusion attendant upon a coup in order to seize control and then to restore Bosch to the presidency.

The Embassy reported at 1850 that the situation remained unclear, although the government had been successful in retaining most of the important mainstays of its military support in Santo Domingo. The

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Army Attache had reported that General Wessin y Wessin was fully in support of the regime and had sent troops and tanks to protect the National Palace.[1]

The situation indeed seemed to be a typical Latin American flash-in-the-pan. Reid himself called the Embassy and told the Air Attache that he planned to encircle the Army camp north of Santo Domingo to smother the revolt.[2] Reid also addressed the nation at 2035 on radio and TV, claiming that his government was in full control except for the two Army camps. He demanded the surrender of these by 0500 the next day and confirmed that the rebels had indeed seized the Army Chief of Staff.[3]

At 2203 the Embassy sent in its first detailed assessment of the situation. The key issue of political involvement was unclear and thus far the Embassy had no information tying any political group directly to the plot. Nevertheless, it emphasized that the persons involved in the temporary takeover of Radio Santo Domingo were of "leftist PRD ilk." Groups in the street displayed predominantly pro-Bosch (and some pro-Balaguer) sentiment, but this was probably largely spontaneous. Based on the recent plotting, the Embassy felt that both the PRD and the PR must be suspected, as well as the extremists, although no information had yet been uncovered tying the PR to the present situation. The Embassy expressed no doubt that certain well-known PRD figures were in the forefront from the outset.[4]

The situation began to change in the early hours of the 25th. The Embassy expressed concern over the deterioration, reporting rebel troops entering the city in large numbers from the outlying camps. The rebels were claiming they were determined to restore constitutional government. The Dominican Air Force was apparently remaining

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 242350Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 250032Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 250222Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL
[4] AmEmb to SecState, 250303Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

loyal but could not do anything until daylight. Although sporadic firing could be heard, the city police were not interfering with the rebel effort to establish a position in town.[1]

Reid called the Air Attache to ask him to ascertain if the Air Force would fight at the expiration of his 0500 ultimatum. Presumably he could not personally reach the Air Force because of communications difficulties. At any rate, the answer the Air Attache received to his query from the Air Chief of Staff was negative.[2] Reid now was clearly in desperate straits.

At 1002 the Joint Army-Navy-Air Force Attaches at the Embassy directed a sitrep to CNO with significant information. At 0430 the government had issued a decree naming Wessin Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. At 0715 Reid had called the Embassy and spoken with the Naval Attache, requesting U.S. Government intervention because his Armed Forces were reluctant to combat the rebels. This is one of the critical moments of the crisis, even though at the time it was not taken too seriously. Reid had raised for the first time the possibility of a direct U.S. intervention.

Soon after, the Secretary of State for the Presidency had called the Embassy, indicating his concern over the large number of armed citizens in the streets and recommending steps be taken to protect the Embassy from possible mob violence.[3]

The Attaches ascribed the reluctance of the Armed Forces to attack the rebels to the difficulty of fighting in the city and to a genuine desire to avoid bloodshed. Nevertheless, the Dominican military

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 250744Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL

[2] AmEmb to SecState, 250931Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

[3] It is not clear what basis there was for fear of a mob attack directed against the U.S. Embassy. Coming on the heels of Reid's request for U.S. aid, the warning seems suspiciously like another tactic to provoke U.S. intervention.

leaders, the Attaches all felt, now seemed to be recognizing the danger that their failure to support Reid was leaving the way open for the political left to advance to power. The leaders were therefore attempting to come up with a plan for a military junta of nonrebel military leaders, to take over the government from Reid and then to take steps to negotiate with the rebels to restore peace. The Attaches pointed out that the scheme was probably unacceptable to the rebels and generally infeasible.[1] In any event, they felt Reid's hours were numbered. It thus appears that the military leaders, instead of rallying to support the Reid government, were actually contemplating overthrowing it themselves.

Since the Attaches had excellent personal contacts among the Dominican military hierarchy, their information in this period is of unusual interest. Their actual role in these first two days of the revolt has been open to some question. Since some of their activities never became a matter of formal record, the allegations that the Attaches from the very outset had urged vigorous action to crush the revolt can neither be proved nor disproved. Certainly they offered continuous guidance to the military chiefs, but just how far the guidance went or what promises may have been made cannot be established.

Throughout this critical period of crisis, the term "loyalist" was widely used in U.S. circles to denote the forces opposed to the rebels. The expression tended to create an image which, no doubt, conditioned the Washington estimate of the situation and therefore influenced U.S. actions. The term is a misnomer, since the military chiefs were loyal only to themselves and, as will be seen, permitted Reid to fall, and then resisted the rebels only when they felt their own interests compelled it. The term will not appear in these pages, but rather forces opposing the rebels up to May 7th will be termed "junta forces."

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[1] JANAP Attaches, to CNO, 251402Z Apr 1965, SECRET.

Connett at the Embassy reported an hour later with amplifying information. After Reid's call to the Naval Attache requesting U.S. intervention, Connett had phoned back, asking Reid what he meant by intervention. Reid asked Connett to come to the Palace where he told the DCM that the Communists were taking advantage of the situation while the government forces were unwilling to act decisively. The troops around the Palace, Connett observed, did not appear ready for action. Reid also confirmed that military commanders not collaborating with the rebels were thinking of establishing a junta. Base commanders elsewhere around the island were refusing to send troops to the capital for fear of the safety of their own bases.

Connett told Reid that the situation was moving too fast for the U.S. to do much in influencing the rebels to desist, and recommended as a last resort that Reid consider the junta proposal. He expressed the Country Team's opinion that the junta would not be acceptable to the rebels, but it might avoid bloodshed as at least a ploy.

PRD representatives had twice called the Embassy to say that Reid had offered to turn the government over to the PRD group, and asked that the U.S. Ambassador or his Deputy be present at any turnover. Connett gave them no encouragement, feeling that since the rebels were apparently riding the crest of the wave, representations to them would be useless. To associate the U.S. openly with the PRD group might tie the U.S. to any number of unfavorable political combinations. Connett was convinced the PRD was trying to use the U.S. as a lever against Reid and he suggested that the U.S. would certainly have to be clearer on the composition of a new government. He then stated that "for the present, the PRD appeared to be in the hands of its more extremist element."

He further confirmed that the rebel Army units had been passing out weapons to the populace.[1]

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 251515Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

A. THE INITIAL AMERICAN REACTION

The development of the crisis was brought to the attention of the Chairman JCS, the first of the senior military people to be so alerted, at 0813 on Sunday morning, the 25th. He was informed by the DDO that State was considering a request to DOD to position a naval force off Santo Domingo as preparation for a possible evacuation. However, there was no urgency implied and the subject of Santo Domingo was reported inter alia with news items on Southeast Asia.[1]

A similar initial casual reaction came from the Director of Operations, JCS, on being informed at 0819. He wondered why State did not try to use commercial aircraft for any evacuation because of both the cost of deploying a task force and the political implications it carried. He further expressed disbelief that either side in the revolt would be likely to begin attacking U.S. nationals. However, data had already been gathered by the DDO on the numbers of potential evacuees, the resources and disposition of the Caribbean Ready Phibron.[2]

At 0905 a message from the Office of Caribbean Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs in State, came to the Deputy Director for Operations, J-3, requesting that, as a result of the serious deterioration of the situation in Santo Domingo, DOD direct vessels suitable for the embarkation of up to 1200 U.S. citizens to proceed to the vicinity of the city. Vessels on arrival should remain out of sight of land until further orders. The earliest possible arrival of the ships should be ensured.[3] The request was approved by the Secretary of State.

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[1] Emergency Action Telephone Tapes, 25 Apr 1965.
Once the NMCC became involved, it was found that the LANT/South Desk which had for so long had nothing urgent in its area of responsibility, had been assisting the Pacific Desk in the handling of the Vietnam affairs, specifically the Rolling Thunder air strikes. So enmeshed was the LANT/South Desk in these matters, that they were unable immediately to disengage when the Dominican crisis broke. Consequently for the first several days the North American Desk handled the crisis within the NMCC until the LANT/South people could free themselves of their other assignments.

[2] Emergency Action Telephone Tapes, 25 Apr 1965.

[3] ARA/CAR (State) to DDO, J-3, JCS, 251305Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

The DDO in the NMCC ascertained from CINCLANT that the Carib Phibron was 280 miles east of Santo Domingo, off Vieques where Exercise QUICK KICK had just been completed. This was some ten hours steaming away. The Phibron consisted of the helicopter carrier, USS BOXER, and a half dozen other ships carrying the Sixth Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU-Battalion Landing Team 3/6). While the ships were all combat loaded, they could take on large numbers of refugees under emergency conditions. More than enough capacity was available to pick up evacuees at north coast ports as well.

The DDO called the CJCS at 0953 with details of developments and got his approval to honor the State request and was instructed by the Chairman to obtain the approval of the political authorities as well. Unable to reach the SecDef who, with Mr. Rusk, was to meet with the President at Camp David at 1000, the DDO got approval from Deputy SecDef Vance at 1000. Both Vance and the CJCS agreed with the intention to keep the force involved to the minimum.

Advance notice of the approval of the State request was given CINCLANT at 1002, stressing the need for strict moderation in the size of forces deployed.[1] The formal JCS message to CINCLANT went out half an hour later.[2]

CINCLANTFLT transmitted the order to Task Group 44.9, the Carib Phibron, with an estimate of potential evacuees: Santo Domingo-1200; Haina-300; La Romana, San Pedro de Macoris, Puerto Plata, Puerto Manzanillo, Barahona, Cabo Roja-350. The Commander Task Group 44.9 (CTG 44.9) was cautioned to execute the alert deployment quietly. While interest centered on Santo Domingo, he was to take whatever resources remained available after enough to provide a lift for 1200 people off the capital had been established, and to place one ship off the north shore and one or more off the lesser ports of the south coast to permit evacuation here if later directed.[3]

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[1]EA Telephone Tapes.
[2]JCS 009731 to CINCLANT, 251432Z April 1965, SECRET.
[3]CINCLANTFLT to CTG 44.9, 251606Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

What apparently had happened was that the young officers who had initiated the revolt Saturday morning now made evident their intention to having nothing to do with a new junta but to press for the return of Bosch and the constitutional government.

At this point representatives of several conservative Dominican parties visited the Embassy and expressed their concern over the pending return of Bosch and of leftists. They made no explicit request for U.S. intervention but expressed the hope that the U.S. would exert its influence toward moderation and a noncommitted interim government until free elections, uncontrolled by a faction, could be held.[1] Three hours later the Embassy reported some political party activity to persuade Balaguer to return in order to drain strength from the Bosch bandwagon.[2]

Radio Santo Domingo was still asking the populace to be calm and not to indulge in violence. It called upon general support for a return of Bosch, claiming that only Wessin y Wessin held out in opposition to the revolt.[3]

This situation began to change as the day drew on. The Embassy notified Washington at 1622 that the Air Attache had just been told by Air Force Chief of Staff de los Santos that the Air Force had decided to fight to prevent the return of Bosch and were joining Wessin in this endeavor. The move was based on the fear that a return of Bosch would mean a turnover of authority ultimately to Communists.

Late in the afternoon Connett sent a cable which marked another of those points upon which later events were to turn, although evidence produced after the event would seem to indicate that Connett was merely reflecting rather than creating the tone of U.S. policy. Connett stressed the extreme confusion of the situation, with no identifiable

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 251710Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 252036Z April 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 251733Z April 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.

[redacted] authorities exercising any effective control over the government. All members of the U.S. Country Team, he flatly stated, felt strongly that it would be against U.S. interests for Bosch to return and to assume power, especially in view of the extremist role in the coup and their announced coup advocacy of a Bosch return as favorable to their long-term interests. The Country Team agreed that the de los Santos-Wessin "plan" was the only course of action likely to prevent a Bosch return and to contain the growing disorder. Bloodshed was a risk as a result of any such action, but the U.S. should seek to minimize it and to encourage unity among the armed forces. (The "plan" was not described.)

Connett also reported that the Navy Chief of Staff Rivera Caminero had just announced his intention to join Wessin and de los Santos. He asked, as had they, what U.S. support he could expect if needed. The Country Team did not believe a show of force was in the U.S. best interests at the moment, especially in view of the late date, when the next 24 hours would determine the course of events. However, Connett flatly warned that if the present conditions bordering on anarchy continued, the Country Team might wish to reconsider its position. The Attaches were hammering home to all three military chiefs the strong Embassy feeling that everything possible should be done to prevent a Communist takeover.[1]

Concern over the Communist role was growing in Washington by this time, and at 1255 State so informed the Embassy. State assumed Connett and his people were in touch with the leaders of the armed forces to urge them to unite to form a provisional government capable of restoring order and preventing a Communist takeover.[2]

The situation was summarized by State Operations Center for the NMCC at 1740. The divisions among the military leaders had at first seemed to open the way to pro-Bosch elements and to a restoration of

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 252022Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] SecState to AmEmb, 251655Z, April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

his regime. The Dominican Embassy in Washington had received a call early in the afternoon from Santo Domingo to the effect that "the military junta to whom Reid had turned over power" had already decided to turn over the government to Jose Rafael Molina Urena, former president of the Chamber of Deputies. Then, however, the military leaders had stiffened their position and united in opposition. The position of Reid was unclear. It was not certain he had ever turned over power or resigned, and if he had, it was uncertain to whom he had surrendered power.[1]

This information from the Dominican Embassy was misleading. Reid had not turned over power to anyone. There was, in fact, no government.

Moments later the Embassy called State Ops with news that two Dominican P51s were strafing the National Palace.[2] A later message developed the information, reporting air attack on the rebel headquarters at the 27th of February Camp as well. De los Santos had informed the Air Attache that he, Wessin and Rivera had thought that they had made a deal with the rebels during the afternoon under which Molina Urena would not be sworn in and that instead, a military junta would take power. A rebel leader, Hernando Ramirez, had asked time to discuss the arrangement with his followers, but as night drew on, the military leaders began to suspect that the rebels were merely playing for time. Consequently, they decided to initiate military action as an indication of earnest intent. De los Santos expressed fear that the delay would give Bosch time to arrive from his home in Puerto Rico.[3] Bosch had been heard over Radio Santo Domingo at 1910, asking popular support and promising to return.[4]

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[1] State Ops Center to NMCC, 252140Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] State Ops to NMCC, 252200Z April 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.
[3] AmEmb to Sec State, 252355Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[4] AmEmb to SecState, 260050Z April 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.

C. A RECAPITULATION

It may be well at this point to recapitulate in the light of what became known of the true situation afterwards. The picture of confusion and contradiction continues and deepens and will be presented as such, but a clarification of certain points, very unclear at that specific moment, will assist in following the emerging crisis.

Reid had addressed the nation at 1930 Saturday evening, stating that the 16th of August and the 27th of February Army Camps were in revolt but that the government was in complete control everywhere else. However, when Reid called on the military forces to surround and take the two camps in line with his ultimatum, the military failed to support him, claiming they wished to avoid bloodshed. They also very probably thought the revolt was intended to establish a military junta, a move toward which they would have been sympathetic, since Reid, as has been explained, had little support among the senior military leaders.

The total force involved in the original revolt is estimated to have been some 1000 officers and men, but by Saturday afternoon and evening PSPD, APCJ, and MPD members were out inciting crowds and staging rallies. In addition, numerous PRD members came out in support of Bosch's return.

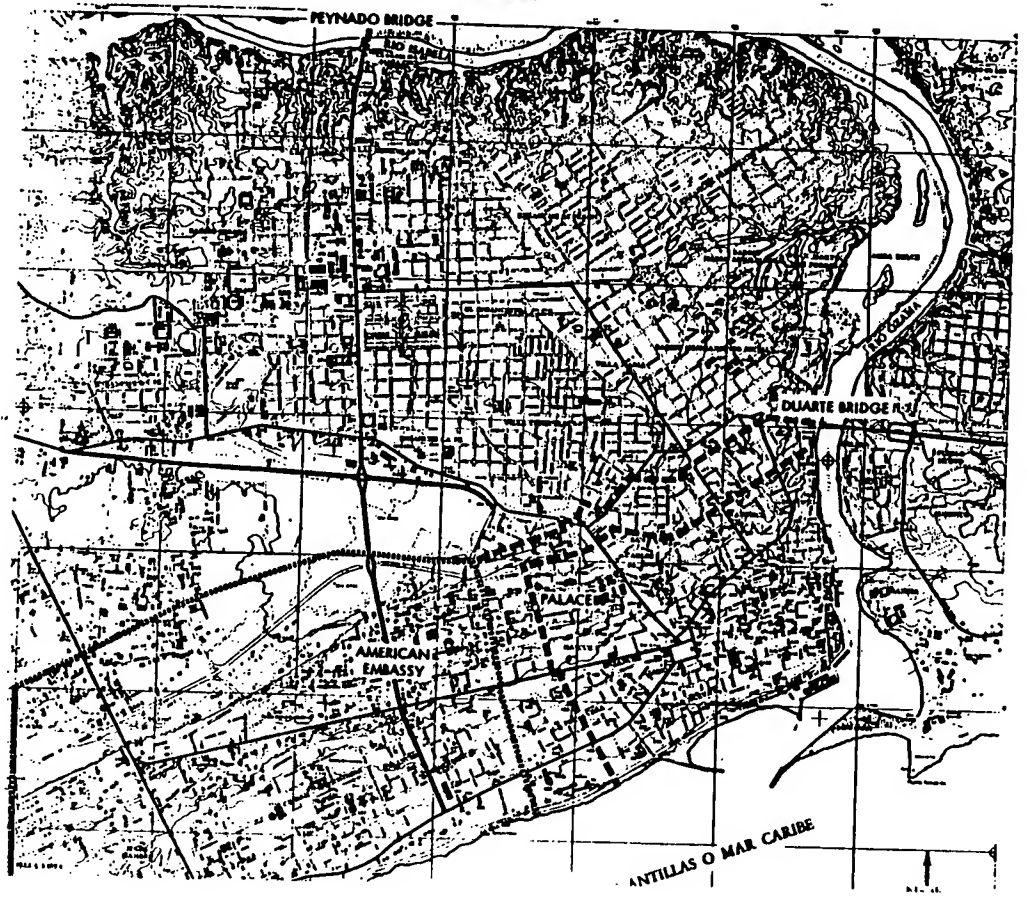
On Sunday morning the three service chiefs told Reid they would not support him and, at about 1000, a rebel military group headed by the National Police officer, Col. Caamano, entered the National Palace and arrested Reid and his ministers. Lacking military support, Reid resigned. A PRD leader, Molina Urena, who as expresident of the Chamber of Deputies under the Bosch government was in the constitutional succession to the presidency, installed himself in the Palace, declaring himself provisional president until Bosch could return.

The installation of Molina by the young army officer rebels and the PRD was apparently taken as a betrayal of the alleged "deal" by

the military chiefs who had been content to see the revolt succeed in ousting Reid. Now suddenly they were faced by the return of Bosch. This was the beginning of the civil war in Santo Domingo.

During the afternoon, the extremist parties ranged the city, urging the populace to join the revolt. At this time several thousand weapons from the 27th of February Camp were distributed to civilians, including automatic weapons and grenades. Extremist groups took advantage of the situation to avenge old grudges by sacking and burning the headquarters buildings of several smaller non-Communist parties as well as some business establishments. Rebel broadcasts over Radio Santo Domingo called for greater public support and watchfulness against an effort by Wessin to enter the city during the night.

The distribution of weapons was a particularly serious matter. U.S. sources have always maintained that the Communists had done this, but the rebel military leaders have equally insisted that it was done at their direction.


PEYNADO BRIDGE
DUARTE BRIDGE
PALACE
AMERICAN EMBASSY
ANTILLAS O MAR CARIBE

IV. PHASE TWO OF THE REVOLT

The belated decision of the military chiefs to counterattack the rebels opened the second phase of the revolt. Air attacks were launched on the National Palace area, the rebel camp, and later on the western or city side of the Duarte Bridge over the Ozama River, the only bridge and therefore the key to access to the capital. Invariably damage became indiscriminate. This apparently was a major tactical blunder since the attacks in the city outraged a great majority of the populace and turned their sympathies toward the rebels.[1]

That the attacks had some impact was indicated by the appearance of a group of rebel emissaries at the Embassy very late on the 25th to ask that the U.S. entreat the military chiefs to halt the air attacks. An Embassy officer merely told them that both sides should cease violence and that the rebels should try to negotiate in good faith with the legitimate military leaders.[2]

Connett, an hour later, sent his latest estimate and recapitulation. From present appearance, he said, the coup plot was from the beginning an effort to bring back Bosch. However, several key military leaders had apparently been led to believe otherwise at a critical moment on Saturday night by talk of a military junta, and had decided they were not willing to engage in a civil war to save Reid. By Sunday afternoon, the issue had clarified. It became one of opting for Bosch's return at the call of the PRD and extremists or action by the strongly anti-Bosch military leaders to retrieve the situation. The moment of decision, as Connett saw it, came with the developing effort shortly after midday to install Molina Urena as the interim president. At this point the military chiefs decided to act.

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 072155Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 260100Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

Connett stressed that the Country Team opposed Bosch's return but hoped that U.S. prestige would not have to be committed to this end, especially in view of the degree of Bosch's popularity and of the fact that he was the constitutional president. The Country Team felt that the foundation of a military junta and the promise of early elections was about the best that could be hoped for at the moment. Indications from meetings with representatives of five parties earlier in the day were that such a solution would be acceptable to them. No one was talking of returning Reid to power and little was said of Balaguer. In regard to the latter, the Country Team did not think it advisable to bring him back at that moment.[1]

Throughout the 26th the Embassy was engaged in feverish efforts to achieve a cease-fire and negotiations. Numerous offers and peace proposals poured in from different persons and political parties in Santo Domingo. At 0700 Connett reported that both Wessin and de los Santos had requested the intervention of U.S. troops, but that he had informed them that the U.S. had no plans for such action. Wessin was now apparently in command of all the forces opposing the rebels.[2]

This request for U.S. military intervention is most significant since it indicates at what an early date the antirebel leaders were already thinking in terms of U.S. troops to retrieve the situation for them.

At this juncture the newly formed antirebel front received a jolt. The Navy Chief of Staff Rivera called the U.S. Naval Attache to tell him that the Dominican Navy had changed its mind and was joining the rebels. Apparently his break with Wessin and the Air Force was the result of petty interservice jealousies.[3]

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[1]AmEmb to SecState, 260215Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2]AmEmb to SecState, 261110Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3]AmEmb to SecState, 261120Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

The Embassy viewed the development seriously. With the Navy on the rebel side, Wessin and de los Santos were seen to be gravely weakened, especially psychologically. While garrisons elsewhere in the country were still claimed by Wessin and de los Santos, their value was doubtful. Control of Radio Santo Domingo and the establishment of a provisional government under Molina had weakened the cause of the military opposition to the rebels, now based at the San Isidro Airfield, eight miles east of the city.

However, very soon afterwards the Naval Attache reported that Rivera was already having second thoughts about his decision and had said that he might support the San Isidro group after all if they would take vigorous action against the rebels. Unfortunately, much of the Navy had already defected.

Connett felt that the chances now for the formation of a military junta under pressure seemed slight. Probably nothing short of a major U.S. involvement, he felt, could prevent the return of Bosch at this stage. While both de los Santos and Wessin had requested U.S. troops, Connett felt that a U.S. combat force commitment would have grave implications and serious repercussions in Latin America. The U.S. would be cast in the role of an interventionist power opposing a popular revolt. He did not believe the U.S. could effectively make a case that this was a Communist-controlled movement at the present time, although the Embassy knew Communists were deeply involved in the rebel movement. Consequently, he had told Wessin not to expect U.S. troops.

The only effective alternative that he could see which remained open to the U.S. was a strong diplomatic initiative to prevent Bosch's return, through the creation of a military junta which would definitely schedule elections for September. The Country Team, he reiterated, believed there was a serious threat of a Communist takeover and that very little time remained in which to act.

Under the circumstances, he requested that he be authorized to make clear to Molina Urena and the rebel military officers the serious U.S. concern over Communist influence in the present revolutionary movement, U.S. desire to avoid continuing disorder and interservice feuding, and the strong conviction that the formula suggested above was in the best interests of the Dominican people.

Connett ended on an ominous note. He believed any decision to use a show of force to back up the U.S. diplomatic effort should be held in abeyance pending the results of the representations for which he sought authorization. At the same time, he foresaw a distinct possibility that such resources might have to be employed.[1]

This message posed the dilemma which faced the U.S. and which became eventually the focus of contention about the whole affair. The question he implicitly raised for the Washington decision makers was the degree of the danger of a Communist takeover that we were willing to accept before we felt it necessary to act.

The Embassy suggested a few hours later a direct approach to Bosch, recalling U.S. support to him during his government and advising him of U.S. concern about leftist elements in the revolt. The objective would be to seek his support for a junta which, the Embassy said, was now looked upon favorably by some of the military and almost all non-Communist political parties.[2]

Meanwhile, in the city, events began to take an uglier turn. Radio Santo Domingo began urging the people to attack the police, while wives and families of Air Force pilots were taken from their homes to the Duarte Bridge, where they were placed in the line of fire of the attacking aircraft. Names and addresses of pilots were given over the radio, thus inviting mob action to sack and destroy their homes.[3]

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 261330Z Apr 1965 SECRET.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 261855Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 261345Z Apr 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.

A battle was under way between radio stations as well. Molina Urena appeared on television at 1345, announcing the victory of the revolt, and dismissing the ability of a few planes to stay the course of events. Concurrently, Radio San Isidro became the organ of the antirevolt group, hammering on the theme of Communist domination of the revolt and repeating earlier promises of all-party elections in September.[1]

A. AMERICAN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT BEGINS

Despite the dispatch of the Carib Phibron to the Santo Domingo area, there continued to be no particular concern in the Pentagon over the developments in the Dominican Republic. CINCLANT, late Sunday, had discovered that eleven of the thirteen Military Group (MILGROUP) members assigned to Santo Domingo were in Panama attending a conference. Concerned with the lack, in the absence of the MILGROUP, of a direct communications link between the Phibron and the Embassy, LANT called the NMCC to request that the MILGROUP personnel be returned as quickly as possible.[2] The prevailing attitude in the JCS was still relaxed and the problems involved in returning the MILGROUP to Santo Domingo were more apparent than the urgency of their return.[3]

Some of CINCLANT's uncertainty had been cleared up, figuratively, by a more definitive statement of the U.S. position given the Deputy CINCLANT by the DDO late Saturday night. The DDO had just been told by the State Department that the U.S. was not taking positions at that time, but was trying to let the Dominicans settle their own affairs, in the hope the situation would not be exploited by leftists. While the U.S. would not be happy to see Bosch return, we would certainly not oppose him.[4] CINCLANT continued to go on this basis through Sunday and into Monday, the 26th.

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 262205Z Apr 1965, UNCLASSIFIED

[2] EA Tapes, Apr 25.

[3] The MILGROUP radio was in a building separate from the Embassy. Of the two MILGROUP people still in Santo Domingo, one had his neck in a cast while the Embassy did not think it advisable for safety reasons to send the other man across to the MILGROUP building.

[4] EA Tapes, Apr 25.

In the meantime, during the morning of the 26th, Connett in Santo Domingo had ordered Phase I of the Embassy Emergency and Evacuation Plan implemented, effective 1030, with the exception of action referring to the actual evacuation. Americans in the city were being advised to prepare for possible evacuation.[1]

State instructed the Embassy at 1430 to approach authorities on both sides to inform them that the U.S. had received a request from Americans living in the Dominican Republic for immediate evacuation. The U.S., therefore, requested a cease-fire and the cooperation of both sides in permitting an evacuation. The ships offshore would be willing to evacuate other foreign nationals as well. Both sides were to be told they would be held accountable by the U.S. for American lives. State told Connett for his own information that the U.S. hoped to build on a cease-fire to obtain some kind of provisional government committed to fair impartial elections at the earliest date.[2]

This message seemed to indicate the ambivalence in U.S. policy. On the one hand, Bosch's return was opposed and Connett was urged to support the formation of a military junta, while, at the same time, he was to urge strong action by the junta. On the other hand, here State speaks in terms of a possible compromise to create a provisional, and implicitly, a coalition government.

It would appear that no decision had yet been made to evacuate. Rather preparatory ground work was being laid in the event an evacuation was implemented. Already the event was receiving attention at the highest national levels in Washington. The White House Situation Room requested the NMCC at 1455 to expedite all information "if and when the ships go into DomRep," because of the President's personal interest.[3]

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[1]AmEmb to SecState, 261606Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2]SecState to AmEmb, 261830Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3]EA Tapes, April 26.

The Embassy forwarded a suggested evacuation plan involving dual operations, the ships pulling into the harbor of Haina, some eight miles west of the city, along with helicopter lifts to the ships from the old polo grounds adjacent to the Embajador Hotel, a large establishment on the far western edge of the city, remote from the downtown disturbances, which would be a useful concentration point for evacuees. Helicopters could pick up evacuees from interior points as well. Connett did not recommend the ships entering Santo Domingo harbor proper as this would necessitate the movement of evacuees to them through the most dangerous parts of the city.[1]

Three hours later two PRD representatives of Molina Urena visited Connett in regard to the evacuation. They agreed to the American request, and promised to declare a cease-fire and not to interfere with the evacuation. The safety of U.S. nationals would be guaranteed and the U.S. Navy ships allowed to dock at Haina. The rebels also promised to provide protection for the evacuation effort. The U.S. attaches, in the meantime, spoke with Wessin and de los Santos on the one hand and with Col. Caamano on the other and had received assurances of cooperation from both sides.[2]

With these assurances in hand, Connett suggested several methods for the actual evacuation process, recommending that it commence about daybreak, 0600 local time, April 27. At this time he still had no estimate of the number of people desiring evacuation.[3]

As arrangements for the evacuation proceeded, other military preparations were set in motion by Washington. Around midafternoon a decision was made by a group, which apparently included the CJCS and Mr. Vance, to alert paratroops and their airlift to DefCon 3, but not to move any C-130s. [4]

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 262030Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 262352Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 270030Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[4] [illegible] Tapes, 25 Apr 1965.

Clearly by this time the concern in Washington over a leftist success had grown and the whole situation began to appear in a different light. The Director for Operations notified Deputy CINCLANT at 1633 that he had just left a meeting between the Joint Chiefs and the SecDef in which the subject was [redacted]. The J-3 stated the type units that were to be alerted. The Deputy CINCLANT said that they would prefer a directive in terms of mission or results expected rather than in terms of specific forces, but the J-3 informed him that no one yet knew the requirements.

[redacted]

The J-3 emphasized the need to launch preparatory steps at once, although he did inform Deputy CINCLANT that at the meeting of the Chiefs and the SecDef, the general view was that it was not very likely at this point that the plan would have to be implemented.[1]

[redacted]

The alert was to be executed in place without movement of forces or loading of equipment or personnel aboard aircraft.[2]

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[1] EA Tapes, 26 April 1965.

[2] JCS 9802 to CINCLANT, 262349Z Apr 1965, TOP SECRET.

STRIKE COMMAND, an addressee in the message, called J-3 at 0210Z to point out that DefCon 3 procedures normally moved troop carrier aircraft automatically to their troop pick-up points. The Director for Operations emphasized in reply that the guidance from above was that "nothing moved yet." It was an interesting example of the by-passing of military procedures because of political considerations.

These moves were all viewed, however, as essentially preparatory. The J-3 told Deputy CINCLANT at 1800 that the SecDef just did not expect any significant evacuation, and that it was hoped that the cease fire agreed to by both sides for the evacuation could be used as a device for dampening down the heat in the situation.[1]

The tone of conversations during these hours between CINCLANT and the Joint Staff indicated that the military tended to feel that the Embassy was exaggerating the threat potential in the situation.

The State Department notified the Embassy in the small hours of Tuesday morning that since security considerations were not an element in establishing a target hour for beginning the evacuation, State wished to defer a decision until developments in the next six to eight hours could be assessed. The tentative time for beginning the evacuation was to be noon of that day, the 27th. The Embassy was directed not to initiate the move, however, without specific directions from Washington.[2]

A J-3 breakdown of U.S. nationals in Santo Domingo listed some 2732 persons. [redacted]

[1] EA Tapes, 26 Apr 65. Apparently a Brewers' Convention was being held in Santo Domingo at this time and it was suspected by the military that pressure from this group was one of the key factors behind the State Dept. request for evacuation.

[2] SecState to AmEmb, 270558Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

[ ] There was still no good estimate of the number of these Americans wishing to be evacuated, but around midnight the Embassy announced to the press that probably some 400 to 500 Americans would leave Santo Domingo.[1] The original estimate had been about 250 people.

A few minutes later Connett told State that the estimate was now 800-1000, and recommended the evacuation begin at 0900 local time instead of noon. CINCLANT, on hearing this, expressed concern over the mounting size of the possible evacuation, pointing out that ships which loaded evacuees were immobilized and the troops they carried out of action for the time it took for the ships to steam to San Juan and back. This could be serious in the event that the situation deteriorated further.

At this point too the apparently agreed-upon cease fire in Santo Domingo began to crumble. Connett reported (by this time Ambassador Bennett was in San Juan en route back to Santo Domingo to take charge) at 0530 that he could find no real sign of a willingness to negotiate on either side. The Dominican Navy and Air Force had become convinced negotiations were no longer a feasible path. Consequently, they intended to issue an ultimatum to the rebels that morning between 0600-0800 local time, demanding that the rebels agree to the formation of a military junta which would promise free elections with participation by all by September 1st or face a maximum bombardment effort against the city. Civilians would be warned to evacuate and a decision period would be allowed the rebels before the attack was launched. The U.S. Air Attache estimated a capability of 20-30 planes in such a bombardment.

Connett stressed that his ability to influence the situation remained greatly hindered by lack of communications which had also

[1] EA Tapes, 27 Apr 1965.

prevented him from informing the military leaders at San Isidro of the kick-off time for the evacuation so that they could arrange a cease-fire. All telephone lines to San Isidro were out and were unlikely to be repaired. The Naval Attache did get agreement from the Dominican Air Force not to bomb near the Embajador Hotel. Consequently, Connett saw no reason to delay the entry of CTG 44.9 into Haina which was under the control of Rivera Caminero and his Dominican Navy. On the other hand, Connett advised against any commingling of U.S. and Dominican ships, lest it be taken as an indication of U.S. support of or participation in any naval bombardment of Santo Domingo.[1]

The evacuation which had only shortly before seemed to be a simple operation now became increasingly involved in the actions of the revolt itself. The Carib Phibron which had been some thirty miles offshore was told at 0924 to close in to ten miles, but to go no closer until a definite decision on the evacuation had been reached.[2] The procedure for the evacuation had also changed. Instead of evacuees being ferried from the Hotel to the ships at Haina, they would be transported by vehicle to Haina, starting at 0600. Apparently there were some political objections in Washington to flying in that many helicopters.

During the morning the rebel "Foreign Minister" asked for U.S. mediation to prevent the air bombardment of the city. He proffered a most interesting suggestion, namely, that military officers on both sides might be prevailed upon to agree to a settlement which could then be "imposed on the civilian rebel government."[3]

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 270930Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] CINCLANT to COMCARIBSEAFRON, 271324Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 271415Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

Before any U.S. mediation could be undertaken, however, an incident occurred which was to carry grave consequences for U.S. policy. Around 1000 a group of armed rebels approached the Embajador where the hundreds of evacuees were gathered. Claiming to be looking for military "juntaists", the rebels bullied Americans, lined up some against a wall and fired automatic weapons over their heads into the ceiling before departing. Connett immediately protested to the rebel leaders, but these denied any control over the gunmen. The DCM warned them the U.S. would undertake no talks until the situation at the Hotel improved.[1] No Americans had been injured but it was the first overt threat against American lives. As it turned out, it was also to be the only threat to U.S. lives, but the incident was crucial in conditioning the outlook of the Washington decision makers.

As the confusion over the situation thickened, State sent Connett a resume of what it understood to be the state of affairs at 1148: there were 1000 Americans and other foreign nationals desiring evacuation concentrated at the Embajador Hotel two or three miles west of the city proper; the Dominican Navy and other Dominican leaders had agreed to evacuation by U.S. ships through Haina ten miles west of the Hotel; when the evacuation began, the Embassy planned to move the Americans by bus and auto to Haina where they would walk aboard U.S. Navy ships; there was a military column of Wessin's forces coming into the city from the west and the approach of this column made it inadvisable to attempt the evacuation at this time. On the basis of this understanding of the situation, the Embassy was instructed by State to proceed with the evacuation when the Embassy believed it safe to do so, with the details to be worked out between the Embassy and CTG 44.9.[2]

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 271430Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] SecState to AmEmb, 271548Z Apr 1965, SECRET.

Connett's efforts had managed to extend the crumbling cease-fire until noon and around 1130 he apparently told State by phone that the moment had come to evacuate. At 1145 the CJCS was informed by the DDO of the State request that the evacuation commence at 1200. The evacuees were already en route to Haina, so that by the time the ships came into shore, all would be assembled at dockside.[1]

The JCS directed CINCLANT at 1257 to execute the evacuation and, upon completion of the lift to San Juan, to return the Carib Phibron to station off Santo Domingo. Sitreps were to be submitted to the JCS hourly until the operation was completed.[2]

Within the city the mediation efforts of the Embassy collapsed when, around 1200, the Dominican Air Force representatives broke off a meeting with the Naval Attache to begin the bombardment of the city.[3]

When the SecDef was informed by the DDO of the State request for evacuation, he asked how far offshore the Phibron would remain and by what means the evacuees would be ferried out to the main fleet. The matter was of some consequence since apparently at this moment it was intended that the President would make a statement on the matter. The DDO ascertained from CINCLANT that there were four LCM-8s and one LST available for ferry and that, presuming the main fleet were still ten miles offshore, several hours would be required to complete the lift. However CINCLANT did not know precisely the distance of the Phibron offshore nor when the Phibron planned to start the lift.[4]

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[1] EA Tapes, 27 Apr 1965.
[2] JCS 9840 to CINCLANT, 271657Z Apr 65, SECRET.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 271615Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.
[4] EA Tapes, 27 Apr 65.

The dispositions were apparently decided on the scene. At 1543 the Embassy suggested the main fleet come closer inshore so that watching crowds could see that U.S. aircraft were not engaged in the bombing of the city as rumors had it. Furthermore, since the presence of the Phibron was known, the Embassy felt that its appearance inshore might have a useful psychological effect.[1]

(In the meantime Ambassador Bennett had returned to Santo Domingo, having been flown into San Isidro Airfield during the day in a U.S. helicopter, and had taken charge of the Embassy and the evacuation at 1300).

The Embassy reported the move of evacuees, by bus, truck, Embassy car, and helicopter, from the Hotel to Haina completed without incident at 1534.[2] The ground vehicle convoys had been escorted by National Policemen. Apparently it was then decided to have one of the main Phibron units, the transport USS RUCHAMKIN actually dock at Haina, along with an LST. This was reported by the DDO to the SecDef at 1547, three and a half hours after the SecDef's questions. This information presumably came from the Embassy through State. In addition, the Embassy and the CTG 44.9 had on their own initiative moved four helicopter loads of Marines, 40 men, from the BOXER to the dock to provide shore security against the reported armed rebels among crowds near the dock area.

This employment of troops had not been specifically authorized by the political authorities in Washington, yet it was accepted without comment by the SecDef.[3]

The record indicates a certain amount of confusion over the timing of the evacuation itself. The Embassy reported at 1642 that the operation was over by 1330, while another message at 1910[4]

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 271943Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 271934Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] EA Tapes, 27 Apr 65.
[4] AmEmb to SecState, 272042Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.

stated that all helicopter and military personnel had cleared the area by 1645, with the two ships involved having left the harbor before that. The Embassy personnel had returned to Santo Domingo where the Embassy was under police protection.[1] The above-stated times indicate that apparently the evacuation actually was completed when it was first reported to the SecDef that the ships were at the dock and Marines were ashore.

The evacuation of 1172 people, however, had been successfully completed without incident. Those people desiring to leave had been taken out, although several times that many potential evacuees had chosen to remain in Santo Domingo.

Political cover was prepared against the expected suspicion of U.S. interference. State notified all South American posts that, in speaking to Latin Americans about the evacuation, they should avoid any suggestion that the U.S. was supporting or opposing any particular faction. U.S. diplomats were to emphasize that the purpose was to evacuate U.S. nationals and other foreigners after local Dominican authorities had stated that their lives were in danger. These steps, it should be stressed, were taken only after repeated U.S. efforts to obtain a cease-fire and to mediate the civil war had failed. No speculation was to be offered on the length of time it would take to complete the evacuation.[2]

B. THE DOMINICAN MILITARY COUNTERATTACK

While the evacuation was being carried out, the counterattack mounted against the rebels by the military chiefs proceeded with seeming success. While the air and naval "bombardment" (the term is really too pretentious in view of the size of the forces involved in

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 272310Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.

[2] State to all Diplomatic Posts in Latin America, Circular Telegram 2066, 280000Z April 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

the attack) continued, tanks of Wessin's supposedly elite column from San Isidro forced their way across the Duarte Bridge over the Ozama and secured a bridgehead on the west bank in the city. At the same time General Montas Guerrero, in command of what was called the well-trained Third Infantry Battalion at San Cristobal, fourteen miles west of Santo Domingo, declared his support of the military chiefs, and thereupon moved against the city. He arrived with his thousand troops in the western areas of the city by 1800, and his arrival, coupled with Wessin's successful advance, seemed to indicate the imminent collapse of the revolt. The Embassy was so confident of this result that it commented to State that "the mop-up should be able to be carried out though some of it may be rough."[1]

The Embassy's expectation seemed justified when shortly before 1600, Molina Urena appeared at the Embassy with twenty advisors.[2] Ambassador Bennett reported that it was clear that they recognized the superiority of the forces against them and a concensus was to end further bloodshed. Bennett made clear his emphatic view that the senseless shedding of blood must end, at the same time reminding them that it was their actions on Saturday which had initiated the fratricide and called forth counterreaction. He reminded them of early U.S. support of Bosch and stated that the latest effort to restore him was now obviously unsuccessful. They therefore should start anew. This

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[1] AmEmb to SecState 272247Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL. It turned out, however, that the antirebel forces were weakened by the habit of placing military guards outside the homes of all prominent government and military officials, so that numerous soldiers were kept out of action by this useless duty.

[2] The most reliable secondary account of the crisis by the New York Times correspondent, claims that there had been a previous development. At 1600, several rebel officers appeared at the Embassy and told Bennett they wished to end the bloodshed and wished him to negotiate or mediate. He denied any authority to do either but promised to send any proposals they might have on to San Isidro and the junta HQ. The officers then asked Bennett if he would try to persuade Molina Urena to accept the verdict of the rebel military commander and cease resistance. This Bennett agreed to do and sent one of the Embassy political officers to find Molina Urena at the National Palace. The Embassy officer found Urena and his aides and presented his message. Urena at first refused to agree but eventually yielded to the persuasion of his aides and promised to go to the Embassy. This account claims to be Bennett's own, but there is no record of it in the official sources which have been available for this study.

last statement, as recorded in Bennett's message, is ambiguous. Presumably he was suggesting that the Bosch supporters give up their hopes for the time being.

During the meeting, word was brought in that the air attacks had ceased and Bennett urged a mutual approach to a settlement. However, he reiterated that there was no question that the Communists had taken advantage of the "legitimate" rebel movement, having been tolerated and even encouraged by the PRD. Although he felt the PRD was obviously a democratic party, they had given the Communists free rein in tolerance of looting and of arms distribution to civilians. Molina and his group denied the Ambassador's charge, whereupon he challenged them further to explain the appearance of Castro-type "barbudos" on the rebel TV program Sunday who had "spouted pure Castroism."

Bennett also emphasized that the Embassy staff four times the day before had succeeded in persuading the Air Force to delay their air attacks, and that on each occasion the rebels had attempted to exploit the delay to their own advantage.[1]

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 280230Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

Despite the obvious significance of Molina Urena's visit, Bennett did not report it, at least in written form, for some six and a half hours. The reason is not clear. It may be that he did not wish to mediate a compromise settlement, but preferred that events proceed on their apparently inexorable way to a conclusion involving the total collapse of the rebel movement.

An hour later Bennett followed up with a review of the situation, since he felt that there was much inaccurate press reporting in the U.S. This was the first mention of a problem that was to grow increasingly severe with the passage of time and the growth of the U.S. commitment in the Dominican Republic. By the end of the week there were already almost one hundred and fifty newsmen in Santo Domingo. The attitude of many was more sympathetic to the rebel movement than was that of the Embassy, and their skepticism concerning Embassy statements led to a mutual irritation and growing breach between the U.S. Government and the press over the issue.

Bennett insisted in his cable that the U.S. had not tried to impose any particular solution, but had aimed instead to promote a cease-fire and peace talks. However, the Ambassador continued, neither side had at any time been willing to sit down to talk.

He stated that there was good evidence that many Army leaders, some very pro-Balaguer, who led the rebels at first were thinking of forming a straight military junta and "seemed not to understand the PRD extreme left political objective of the return of Bosch." This

confusion of purpose had contributed to the early vacillation on the part of some key elements in the revolt.

Bennett claimed the Communists had moved with extraordinary speed to capitalize on the situation. [redacted] Embassy contacts revealed that the Communist groups were well and heavily armed. Many known Communists were presently inside the National Palace, and the Embassy had identified some radio announcers as 14 June members. It became abundantly clear very soon that the Communists were not only making a major effort but also committing what appeared to be their full resources to promote their own purposes by backing Bosch's return to the presidency, which had been their declared objective since the 1963 coup.

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Bennett went on to describe the situation at the moment. Leaders of the Molina Urena "government" had admitted their inability effectively to maintain order in the city. Arms had been indiscriminately distributed to all, including known Communists, by Army elements, some of which were gullible and some otherwise.[1] Mobs were under virtually no control, while the rebel radio incited them against various political groups.

Despite solemn promises, U.S. lives had been endangered during the Hotel incident. The tactics of the rebels in using wives and children of Air Force officers as shields and hostages at the Duarte Bridge were termed "horrible" by Bennett. He also referred to Bosch's evasive answer when asked by newsmen to comment on the Duarte Bridge incident.

He gave two more indications of the extremist trend; the fact that one of the first actions by the rebels after taking control in part of the city was to sack the headquarters of opposing political parties, and the definite Castroist flavor given to TV broadcasts.

[1] In reference to this point made at the end of Chapter III, it will be noted that Bennett here does not claim that the arms distribution was made by the leftists. This theme was developed later in the crisis.

Bennett summarized by denying that the intent of his comments was to heap the blame on one side only. This was not, however, a case of "freedom fighters" against a military oligarchy. The fact was that even valid elements of the PRD in their "thirst for power" accepted and welcomed support from violent Communist and Castro elements which proved better organized to take advantage of the situation than the PRD probably realized.[1]

Despite the Ambassador's protestations of impartiality, the cable probably set a capstone upon the growing fear in Washington of a Communist coup. Bennett had documented the extremist role but had not recommended any specific course of action for U.S. Implicitly, the policy for the U.S. was to support the military chiefs in their total suppression of the revolt. It should be noted too that the Ambassador had been in the Embassy in command less than nine hours when he sent this message.

However, the matter of Communist influence might well have seemed to be one rapidly becoming academic as the military chiefs drew closer to victory. Wessin's forces from the Armed Forces Training Center (CEFA) were over the bridge on the east as Montas Guerrero drove in from the west. While no formal junta had been declared by the end of the 27th, the military chiefs had signed a decree declaring martial law, and they seemed able to enforce it. At 0025 on the 28th Bennett reported what must have seemed a decisive event, that Molina Urena and most of his aides, including Col. Caamano, had taken asylum in the Colombian Embassy. Presumably this, in the more traditional Latin American coup-attempt sequence, should have signalled the collapse of the revolt.[2] In addition, PRD leader Martinez Francisco went to Wessin's headquarters at San Isidro and broadcast an appeal to the rebels to lay down their arms.

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 280345Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 280425Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

These developments tended to produce a roseate view in Washington. Late on the 27th, State had signalled Bennett that, on the basis of his earlier reports of the afternoon, it seemed clear that the tide had turned in favor of the military chiefs, and consequently he should take the earliest opportunity to reach them and urge upon them a policy of moderation and no reprisals.[1]

Within the Joint Staff a similar view prevailed. The NMCC early morning briefing on the 28th at the change of teams indicated that "the Dominican revolt is collapsing." This outlook was further reflected by the much-reduced telephone traffic during the first half of the 28th as compared to the previous twenty-four hours.

Nevertheless, there was still some feeling of uncertainty in the Embassy. Telephone conversations between State and the Embassy and the MILGROUP and CINCSOUTH indicated concern on the part of the Ambassador over the location and ready availability of the TG 44.9 Marines. There had been some firing against the Embassy and, as the street fighting spread, nervousness in the Embassy likewise grew.[2]

As the military chiefs' counterattack proceeded, the separation of their forces in three separate groups began to cause serious difficulties. Around 0700 de los Santos asked the Embassy to acquire fifty walkie talkie sets as soon as possible in order to permit centralized control of the attacks on the rebels who by this time were concentrated in the most densely built up portions of the city.[3]

[1] SecState to AmEmb, 272328Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

[2] EA Tapes, 28 Apr 1965.

[3] A note is in order here concerning the terminology of Santo Domingo and its parts. The portion of the city referred to in this message is that which lies in the southeast corner, where the Ozama and the sea meet at a right angle. This is the heart of the city, the commercial and business center, and the most densely populated. It is also the oldest portion of the city and occupies the site of the original settlement of 1497. However, its name is Cuidad Neuva or the New City. This derives from the fact that when Santo Domingo was founded by Columbus in 1497, it replaced Isabella on the north coast of Hispaniola as the premier city of the Indies. As such it was referred to as "the New City," to distinguish it from Isabella which then became "the old city." To compound the confusion even further, the old New City is really almost all new since Santo Domingo was almost totally destroyed in the hurricane of 1930, very few Spanish relics having survived. The image of the New City as one of narrow crooked Spanish colonial streets was quite in error. It is now a typical Central American city of small stucco and wood buildings and comparatively few large structures.

The Embassy recommended to State that the radios be sent at once and delivered to San Isidro, that is, directly to Wessin's headquarters.[1]

Presumably the recommendation was challenged in State on the grounds that it very blatantly violated U.S. self-professed impartiality in the crisis. The Attaches in the Embassy addressed an appeal to the CNO in support of the Embassy recommendation, commenting that the communications problem of the antirebel forces was serious and that failure to solve it could well be the difference between success and failure.[2]

At about this time the MILGROUP team got back to the country and the Chief, Col. Quilty, USMC, went out to San Isidro. There he met the junta chiefs and was appalled at the chaos and confusion. In an almost hysterical meeting, the junta named Montas Guerrero as their leader. They had no contact with the Army forces west of the river. It appears that they had never possessed tactical communications although these had been programmed by the MILGROUP since 1962. Rebel control of the downtown commercial communications terminal left them with no communications at all. This was their most urgent military need at the moment.

The Ambassador himself then intervened in a message to State an hour later, pointing out that it was the combined judgment of the Country Team that the radios were critical. The Air Force, Wessin, the Navy, and Montas forces were at different points, and hours would go by without contact. The superiority of the combined forces would not necessarily avail if they were divided into distinct pockets facing "leftist forces" and a heavy psychological propaganda barrage about "the people's struggle for liberation." Equally serious in the

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 281135Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] JANAF Attaches to CNO, 281632Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

Attaches' view, Bennett said, was the effect on the morale of the antirebel force if we seem to deny them "this equipment which, after all, has civilian as well as military uses." The antirebel forces were not asking for offensive weapons, but merely the means to talk.

The Ambassador continued by drawing a very sharp line as far as the overall situation was concerned. He regretted that a military solution had to be relied upon for a political crisis which had been "engendered by the confused democratic left, all valid elements of which were now in asylum or in hiding, as much from the extremists who have come to dominate the rebel situation as from the opposing military forces." The plain fact of the situation was that while leftist propaganda naturally would try to fuzz the crisis as a fight between the military and the people, the issue here was now a fight between Castro-type elements and those who opposed it. Bennett stressed that "we should be clear as to the situation."

He said he did not wish to be dramatic, but that if we denied simple communications equipment and the opposition here to a leftist takeover should lose for lack of heart or otherwise, "we may very well be asking in the near future for the landing of Marines to protect U.S. citizens and possibly for other purposes. Which would Washington prefer?"[1]

Thus did the Ambassador present the picture to the decision makers in Washington. Clearly there were no doubts in his mind. The decision makers could only react accordingly.

Consequently, it was first decided to send the radios but not to San Isidro. Rather they would be delivered to the USS BOXER from which they would, by means unstated, be sent ashore to the antirebel forces. Also emergency medical supplies were gotten under way to Santo Domingo by sea.

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 281718Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

It was not until 1700, after the situation in the city had dramatically come apart, that the Embassy was notified by State that the radios would be delivered directly to San Isidro by a USAF aircraft.[1] The dispatch of the radios, however, had produced a minor but illuminating illustration of inadequate coordination with agencies and persons working at cross-purposes in the heat of crisis.

The radio issue became involved with the ferrying into Santo Domingo of more newsmen; contradictory orders on this point were going to CINCLANT from various agencies. In the case of the newsmen, OSD/PA demanded the reporters be sent in by helicopter to San Isidro. In the meantime, State was questioning whether or not this would be compatible with a neutral status. In the case of the radios, there was confusion over whether it should be considered a military matter. Presumably State raised the suggestion that they handle the radios and thus try to avoid the charge of U.S. military interference in the Santo Domingo situation. However, the radios, in San Juan, were half owned by the Army and half by the Navy. There was inordinate confusion too both in San Juan and in Washington over just how many of the radio sets actually existed.

Finally, CINCLANT was ordered to do nothing until the Washington scene cleared. There was talk of flying the radios in covertly. It wasn't until 1645 that a direct phone call from the CJCS to the colonel handling the affair at Ramey instructed the latter to use a USAF aircraft to fly the sets to San Isidro. The CJCS said he had been so instructed by Under Secretary of State Mann who was heading the State side of Dominican developments.[2] CINCLANT reported delivery of the radios an hour and a half later.

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[1] SecState to AmEmb 282113Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] EA Tapes, 28 Apr 1965.

C. FAILURE OF THE COUNTERATTACK

One of the most difficult aspects of the Dominican crisis to understand is the unbelievable transformation of the situation during the afternoon of the 28th. Between noon and six o'clock, all the expectations that had developed collapsed and all the fears burgeoned. The cause was the failure of the counterattack by the military chiefs and the sudden quite unexpected revival of the rebels.

Around noon all seemed to be going well. Bennett wired State that he had heard that General Antonio Imbert, an antirebel figure and the sole surviving assassin of Trujillo, had gotten through to the Air Force at San Isidro to tell them he had taken the National Palace. Progress was being made on establishing a junta, and the Embassy was urging that the decision be made as soon as possible so that the military units still remaining on the rebel side, which might decide to defect, would have someone to whom they could surrender. Imbert was supposed to head a five-man junta with officers from the three services and the Armed Forces Training Center (Wessin's elite command) but not including Wessin.[1]

The formation of the junta was formally announced by the Air Force radio an hour later. It consisted of a three-man group representing the three armed services, with Colonel Pedro Benoit of the Air Force as the apparent spokesman. The relative youth and political inexperience of the three officers clearly indicate that the three were to be merely figureheads for the three service chiefs. It was a thinly veiled guise. The announcement stated the purpose of the junta to be "the preparation of the nation for free and democratic elections."[2] Despite this step, Bennett was concerned over the "Communist efforts to nullify the Wessin forces." He feared the propaganda had effectively poisoned the minds of the people and had

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 281529Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] DR Fact Sheet, prepared for CJCS, 291200Z Apr 1965, SECRET.

convinced them that Wessin was the bete noire of the play and that the U.S. was backing him.[1]

Then at 1450 Bennett sent an alarming message. Colonel Benoit had just called the Embassy to request that the U.S. land 1200 Marines to help restore peace. Bennett stated that he gave Benoit no encouragement, since he did not believe that the situation justified such action. Furthermore, he didn't believe Marines should be employed in a street-clearing role.

Bennett reasserted that while the preponderant military forces were on the side of the military chiefs, these were separated and without communications. The psychological advantage thus lay with the rebels. The situation was not very logical and a test of nerves was under way. Bennett felt that the State message requesting that he temper Wessin in the matter of reprisals was drawing unduly optimistic conclusions. He had learned that Wessin had not advanced beyond the bridgehead and was not, all in all, making a very determined showing. The junta's ground forces were confused and the Air Force was carrying the burden of attack against the rebels. The Embassy Attaches, accordingly, still considered the outcome in doubt.

The Ambassador suggested that State might "wish to do some contingency planning in case the situation should break apart and deteriorate rapidly to the extent that we should need Marines in a hurry to protect Americans."[2]

An hour later, Bennett reported that the Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Santo Domingo had called to see if something couldn't be done to get Bosch to disown the leftist leadership which had now clearly taken over the rebel movement. Bennett stated that

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 281619Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 281850Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

the PRD moderates were either in hiding or in asylum. Bosch, he felt, was still misleading the U.S. press, where a simple statement from him deploring the situation would help greatly. The Ambassador reaffirmed what was now the major issue, "If the rebels are victorious now, let us make no mistake about it; this will be a takeover by the extreme left."[1]

Suddenly the whole situation had changed. While the political facade of the rebels had collapsed, their armed forces remained intact, and in the morning's fighting it had been the junta forces which had proven to be a hollow shell. The situation had indeed broken apart. Wessin had made a feeble effort to break out of his bridgehead and, with the loss of a couple of tanks, stopped further offensive action. Resistance was obviously stronger than he had expected, but not so much as to call for his conduct. On the west, Montas' men had met some resistance too and his force simply melted away. Within the city, law and order had thoroughly broken down. The people attacked the hated National Police and drove them into hiding or killed those they caught. Armed mobs rampaged in the downtown portion of the city, looting homes and stores, and even firing an occasional shot at foreign embassies.

The reason for the revival of the rebels cannot be documented or in any way proven. It is the belief of most impartial observers that it was at this time that the Communists did step forward to lend their organized strength to rallying the collapsing revolt. Whether they at this point actually assumed control of the revolt is the most controversial issue of the entire crisis. It was never clear then nor is it ever likely to be. Nevertheless, the assumption was made in Santo Domingo and in Washington that the extremists were now fully in control.

As the afternoon wore on, the crisis moved with increasing speed toward its climax. At 1615 Bennett in a CRITIC message sent the text

[1]AmEmb to SecState, 281945Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

of the formal request for U.S. military assistance from the newly formed junta. It read:

> The Military Junta of Government, conscious that the present revolutionary movement against democratic institutions which the Junta represents, is directed by communists and is of authentic communist stamp, as shown by excesses committed against the population, mass assassinations, sackings of private property, constant incitations to continue the fight broadcast by Radio Habana, and which movement, if victorious, will convert this country into another Cuba. We request, with responsibility and in categoric manner, that the United States Government lend us its unlimited and immediate military assistance so that such a grave situation may definitively be controlled.[1]

Three hours later Bennett sent another CRITIC message. In regard to his earlier statements that American lives were in danger, the Santo Domingo police chief had just informed Bennett that he could no longer guarantee the safety of Americans en route to the evacuation area at Haina. He had also received a message from Benoit urgently requesting a reply to his official request for assistance. The Ambassador said he was sending the Air Attache to Benoit by helicopter in order "to get a statement from him," which he had no doubt Benoit would give.

In addition a delegation of U.S. residents had just left his office, after having advised him that there was no protection left in their residential areas and stressing their belief that Americans would be the logical target of leftist mobs which had been sacking so many Dominican homes. The police were unable to fill requests for additional guard duty even the previous night, and it was obvious that they could no longer protect individual homes. Bennett had recommended that all American residents assemble at the Embajador for evacuation, but he mentioned that many permanent residents naturally were not anxious to take this step.

[1] AmEmb to DIRNSA, 282015Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

The message ended dramatically with comments that the AID office had just been broken into and that the evacuation area was being fired upon by rebels.[1]

The impact of these messages was so great that the President asked to speak personally to Bennett. This telephone conversation was probably decisive. During the course of it, gunfire struck the building but apparently the President received the impression that the Embassy was under heavy machinegun fire. Furthermore, as the President later related the incident, the Ambassador and his secretary were under their desks as Bennett spoke to the President. Needless to say, this seemed a very convincing argument, and the image created of the situation around the Embassy probably crystallized the decision to land the Marines.[2]

However, several hours before this last message, measures were already in preparation to land U.S. forces and to launch the most massive U.S. intervention in Latin America since the Mexican War.

A parenthetical note must be added here. With these requests for military assistance, we enter one of the most violently contentious aspects of the Dominican crisis. During the hearings on the crisis before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July 1965, it was revealed, according to an authoritative leak to the press the following November, that the U.S. had actually elicited the request from Benoit in terms of aid to protect U.S. lives, and thereby provided ourselves with a legal justification for intervention. The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in his formal statement on the Dominican crisis following the Senate Hearings, stated that Benoit's original request had been denied in Washington. However, Benoit was also told that the United States would not intervene "unless he said he could not protect American citizens present in the Dominican Republic." The evidence presented in the above pages would appear to

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 282302Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

[2] President Johnson stated in a news conference of June 18, "as we talked to our Ambassador to confirm the horror and tragedy and the unbelievable fact that they were firing on Americans and the American Embassy, he was talking to us from under a desk while bullets were going through his windows."

support this statement which itself was based upon the secret and not yet revealed testimony of the hearings.

It should be kept in mind too that the message traffic and NMCC EA tapes do not tell the entire story. Obviously much passed by telephone between the Embassy and State which did not reach the form of written messages.

As to the phone conversation between the President and the Ambassador, here too it becomes difficult to establish what actually happened. What is known is that Embassy officials later denied that the Embassy building had ever been fired on by automatic weapons, while the building itself never showed any bullet marks.[1]

The issue of the threat of Communist control was at the heart of the whole U.S. response. As stated above, the degree of this control was never established and the later backing away from early claims of complete Communist control would seem to indicate a later awareness of an exaggerated fear at the time. However, it has been claimed by senior military participants in the crisis that the issue was presented to the President, presumably by his intelligence advisors, in terms of there being maybe "two chances in ten" of a Communist takeover. The President decided that he wished to take no chances.

[1]On 3 May 1966 Ambassador Bennett appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in regard to his appointment as Ambassator to Portugal. During questioning on the Dominican crisis, he said that "quite a few bullets were picked up in the Embassy garden," and that while tile over his window had come off, he couldn't recall any bullet holes in his office. He had "hit the deck" only once, when an aircraft had come low over the Embassy. Since only the junta had planes, it was the junta and not the rebels who put him under the desk.

Finally, Bennett admitted that "some exaggeration crept into reports" during the crisis.

See The New York Times and The Washington Post for 4 May 1966.

V. THE MARINE LANDING

In Washington, the deteriorating situation in Santo Domingo was increasingly attracting attention at the highest level. In mid-afternoon of the 28th there had been a White House meeting of the President, the SecDef, and the CJCS, and presumably Rusk and Mann from State. On his return to the Pentagon, the CJCS directed the LANT/South Division of J-3 to alert CINCLANT that the TG 44.9 Marines were to be prepared to land in Santo Domingo. This was done at 1737.

The Director for Operations personally called CINCLANT at 1745 with more details. Admiral Smith, CINCLANT, reported that two of the ships in the task group had unloaded their evacuee passengers in San Juan and were returning to Santo Domingo. The other large attack transport had departed the Santo Domingo area with a load of evacuees, but was being recalled, since she carried necessary heavy equipment for the landing force. [redacted]

[redacted]

Admiral Smith commented that the necessity to evacuate civilians, against which he had argued earlier in the week, would eventually

affect the combat capability of the Phibron and its reaction time.[1]

Following these instructions, CINCLANTFLT then alerted COMCARIB-SEAFRON to the possibility of a Marine landing.[2]

There was a considerable amount of overlapping and confusion in orders during the next several hours. This was probably the result of requests from the Ambassador coming through several different agencies simultaneously. The Pentagon was being informed by CTG 44.9 via COMCARIBSEAFRON and CINCLANT and also from State through its direct telephone line to the Embassy. CTG 44.9 was in communication with the Embassy only through couriers and one very imperfect "ham" radio. He also had single-side-band communication with CINCLANT.

The orders issued to CINCLANT were carefully qualified by the stress laid on their warning and preparatory nature. These orders were not to be construed as an execute; this would be issued separately. Clearly the intention was to maintain a tight control over any U.S. actions. However, events tended to outrun communications. Just as the previous day had seen CTG 44.9 land U.S. Marines on the dock at Haina without any authorization from a superior headquarters, the situation again compelled independent actions by the commander on the scene in support of his directed objectives.

At 1722 Commodore Dare, CTG 44.9, signalled COMCARIBSEAFRON that he had received by voice radio a request from the Embassy to evacuate up to 300 persons from the polo field area. The Ambassador had suggested that armed Marines be sent to the polo field as the Dominican police could not guarantee protection of the evacuation. Dare told COMCARIBSEAFRON that he was sending in an unarmed path-finder platoon and an MP detachment, while an armed and armored

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[1]EA tapes, 28 April 1965.
[2]CINCLANTFLT to COMCARIBSEAFRON, 282146Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

company would be on five-minute alert in the event there was real trouble.[1]

When this message was received at State, they called the NMCC at 1819 to ask what the force was for. The Team Chief assured them the mission of the force was to light the polo field for incoming helicopters.[2]

CTG 44.9 reported again at 1754 that in personal contact with Bennett, via voice radio, the Ambassador had requested a platoon-sized augmentation of armed Marines to reinforce the Embassy guard. Dare had concurred and the troops had been dispatched to the landing zone (presumably the polo field) from whence they would move to the Embassy by Embassy bus.[3]

It was unclear at both CINCLANT and in the JCS at this point whether or not CTG 44.9 had asked the Ambassador if he wanted the full complement of Marines and the Ambassador had refused, or whether the two preliminary deployments were a separate matter, in addition to the full deployment. The matter assumed considerable significance because the President was shortly to meet with Congressional leaders on the crisis, and he wished to be in a position to state unambiguously

[1] CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON 282122Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] EA Tapes, 28 Apr 65.
[3] CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON 282154Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.

the U.S. situation at the moment. Since the movement of troops ashore and, indeed, the entire U.S. initiative, had been left to the Ambassador's decision, it was important to know what he had requested of Commodore Dare.[1]

[redacted]

[redacted] The beach at Haina had been investigated and found usable. The Commodore recommended against delay beyond evening twilight. However, he gave no indication of the Ambassador's wishes at the moment.[2] The Embassy, in the meantime, had entered Phase II of its Emergency and Evacuation (E&E) Plan at 1845.

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[1]EA tapes, 28 Apr 1965. The meeting of the Congressional leaders at the White House was later the source of contention. The group met during the evening and the President described the situation, of how the Embassy was under attack, Americans and foreign nationals attacked and in danger. [redacted] Clearly, the meeting had been called to apprise the Congressional leaders of a decision taken rather than to seek their counsel in arriving at a decision, but in view of the information presented by the President, sentiment among the Congressional leaders would appear to have been fully in support of the President's action.

[2]CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON 282300Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.

At 1900 the Commodore reported that he was preparing to land; 176 persons had been evacuated from the polo field and 21 from Haina. No other evacuees were known to be in the vicinity.[1]

Deputy Chief of Staff, CINCLANTFLT, Vice Admiral Wylie, who was handling the crisis at CINCLANT, called the J-3 at 1901 with word that CTG 44.9 had just reported that, after a request by the Ambassador, he had commenced landing troops. [redacted]

In a call from the CJCS to the J-3 20 minutes later, the CJCS was obviously still unaware of the initial landing and requested word as soon as it arrived. The J-3 did not tell him the substance of the phone conversation with Admiral Wylie at 1901.[2]

In the meantime, the JCS directed CINCLANT at 1921 to order CTG 44.9 to close Santo Domingo, prepare to land, to close the remaining elements of the MEU from Roosevelt Roads to land all Marine units now aboard USS BOXER as soon as possible, to secure the hotel and polo field, the action being subject to the Ambassador's approval and timing to marshal aircraft needed to lift the two BCTs and to ready all units for immediate departure when separately directed. CINCLANT was asked to advise the JCS immediately of the timing of the first troops ashore, timing of the overflights if executed, and the time when the BCTs would be ready for departure.[3] By this time these moves were already under way.

Commodore Dare confirmed to COMCARIBSEAFRON at 1920 that the Ambassador had called late in the afternoon requesting Marines ashore and had stated that he would seek authorization from Washington. He had called back five minutes later confirming his request, and in

[1]COMCARIBSEAFRON 282230Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2]EA tapes, 28 Apr 1965.
[3]JCS 9927Z to CINCLANT 282321Z Apr 65, SECRET.

consequence, troops were started ashore. Dare also stated that in view of the lack of daylight, he did not intend to call in the overflight aircraft at this time.[1]

Minutes later Admiral Wylie notified the J-3 that the Ambassador did not want the overflights at the moment. Also, the MILGROUP from Panama had been delivered to Haina.[2]

The contradictions and confusion over the situation were compounded by a message from the Ambassador sent at 1915. In it he stated that in view of the rapidly deteriorating situation, he "had just asked the BOXER" to provide helicopter evacuation for Americans assembled at the hotel, including a "company for security purposes"(?) in view of the sniping going on around the Embassy buildings. He had also requested a "pathfinder platoon" to land on the Embassy grounds for the protection of the chancery. He expressed the hope that this action would give some heart to the "loyal forces." The breakdown of all government authority and the possibility that the remaining forces available to it may soon tire or become physically incapable of maintaining their present position led him to recommend that serious thought be given in Washington to armed intervention, which would go beyond the mere protection of Americans and would seek to establish order in the country. All indications pointed to the fact that if the present efforts of loyal forces failed, power would be assumed by groups closely identified with the Communist party. If the situation described above were to come to pass, Bennett reiterated, his own recommendation and that of the Country Team was that we should intervene "to prevent another Cuba arising out of the ashes of this uncontrollable situation."

Pending this decision, Bennett recommended that additional military units be dispatched to the area since the present forces available were considered inadequate to execute the mission he had suggested as a last resort.[3]

[1] CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON 282320Z Apr 65, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] EA tapes, 28 Apr 1965.
[3] AmEmb to SecState 282315Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

The ambiguity of the Ambassador's remarks concerning forces requested further muddled the picture for Washington in its attempts to pin down precise numbers. More than that, however, Bennett's telegram was the capstone in the process leading to major U.S. involvement in the Dominican crisis. It definitively expressed the near certainty of another Cuba. While the thought had been raised repeatedly, directly and indirectly, by both Connett and Bennett during the previous three days, it assumed special cogency in view of the apparent collapse of resistance to the revolt.

[redacted]

In the meantime the troop landing continued. CINCLANT reported to JCS at 1944 that two rifle companies only had been committed, of which one-third were already at the polo ground.[3]

A few moments later Commodore Dare signalled COMCARIBSEAFRON that no hostile activity had been reported in the landing zone, and that in the process of landing, he had embarked additional evacuees.[4]

With the coming of the night and the smooth operation of the landing, there appears to have been a relaxation of tension at the

[redacted]

[3]CINCLANT to JCS 282344Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[4]CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON 290018Z Apr 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.

Embassy and possibly second thoughts about the necessity for a major intervention. Commodore Dare reported about 2450 that the Ambassador preferred to delay until the next day his comments on forces additional to those now on the scene. He also added parenthetically that he and the Ambassador were working in the closest harmony.[1]

Bennett found things quiet around the polo field at this time with no more sniper fire as Marine platoons guarded the perimeter of the field and the Embassy. He reported no Americans hurt at the Hotel, but he admitted he had little knowledge of what was going on downtown.[2]

One alarming piece of intelligence reaching the Embassy concerned reports that the riot control police were being killed by the mobs and that the police fortress, Fortaleza Ozama, was probably going to be seized. Within it was a store of weapons of unknown magnitude.

[redacted] He received at this time another urgent message from Colonel Benoit, repeating that American lives were in danger and that conditions were of such disorder that it was impossible to provide adequate protection. He therefore formally asked again for temporary American intervention to restore public order.[3]

Still, while by midnight 526 Marines were already ashore, there had been no known incidents involving either U.S. troops or nationals. The Ambassador's ambivalence is indicated too by his continued opposition to overflights, feeling they would be counterproductive at this time.

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[1] CINCLANT to NMCC, 290352Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 290412Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 290510Z Apr 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.

State was also striving to accomplish contradictory ends. This was apparent when Reid Cabral during the night asked asylum in the U.S. Embassy. Bennett wished to grant it, but on seeking guidance from State, was told that giving asylum or arranging evacuation would, if it became known, prejudice the position of neutrality the U.S. was striving to keep. State suggested as alternatives that Reid be taken aboard the BOXER or moved into the Papal Nunciatura.[1]

During the night the major preoccupation of the Joint Staff was the preparation of reinforcements should they be needed. During the last hours of the 29th, it appeared that such reinforcements might be only an academic affair. The uncertainty of the requirement as seen by the Ambassador led to an understandable hesitation on the part of senior U.S. military officers to launch urgent measures.

For example, late on the 29th Admiral Wylie of CINCLANT informed the Vice J-3 that CINCLANTFLT had directed FMFLANT to airlift a Marine company from Lejeune to Guantanamo Bay. Wylie first thought that the move was to replace the troops in the TG 44.9 ship RUCHAMKIN which, while taking refugees into San Juan, had been rammed by a tug. Actually the unit was to replace the company of the Phibron BLT which, according to custom, had been left in Guantanamo during the Phibron's cruise period. Since the Phibron BLT was now facing possible combat, CINCLANTFLT was attempting to bring it up to full strength.

The CJCS and the SecDef discussed the matter and decided to hold up the move, because of possible political impressions it might give throughout Latin America. This decision was passed on to CINCLANT with the further information that the President had specifically directed that there be no movements of troops out of the continental U.S. until he gave the word.[2]

Part of the Marine force was loaded and taxiing when the recall order reached them.

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[1] State to AmEmb, 291103Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] EA tapes, 29 Apr 1965.

In a conversation between the CJCS and the Vice J-3 at 2037, the CJCS said he would ask the SecState to try to ascertain the Ambassador's requirements. Apparently the Ambassador had originally talked in terms of 1200 men, but when the CTG 44.9 immediately offered 1000 as a starting force, Bennett dropped the number to 400. The inability of the JCS to gain a clearer picture of the Ambassador's requirements was compounded by a communications jam in the Embassy, which became so severe that the Embassy found it necessary to announce to State that only State messages in or out would be handled. In consequence, the NMCC lacked certain key messages from Bennett during these hours. The JCS thus had to rely upon State to transmit information to the Pentagon or upon whatever CTG 44.9 could relay.[1]

Shortly after 2200 Commodore Dare first reported to CINCLANT that the Ambassador preferred to wait for daylight before deciding on additional troop requirements. Bennett also had asked that a senior representative of CTG 44.9 come ashore the next morning to discuss all aspects of military participation. This message for the moment took some of the urgency out of the situation as far as the JCS were concerned.

News of the Marine landing had been given by the President in a national television broadcast at 2050, at which time he mentioned only the need to protect U.S. lives and property.

However, despite the apparently fixed figure of 400 as the Ambassador's requirement, CTG 44.9 reported at 2356 that 526 men were ashore. The President had announced 400 ashore but actually there were then only 250 on land.[2] The discrepancies in available information led to some urgent coordination among State, NMCC, and White House Situation Room representatives around midnight. Contradictory information on the preparation for a possible airborne deployment also seemed to increase as the hours passed.

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[1] EA Tapes, 29 Apr 1965.
[2] Ibid.

Another problem which came up at this time was that of the precise military mission of the force ashore. OSD/ISA raised the matter of rules of engagement -- at whom and under what conditions should the Marines open fire; how far inland were they permitted to go; could they, for example, force a column through to the Embassy? The reaction in the JCS was to wait until the situation clarified, hopefully by the morning hours.

A. PREPARATIONS FOR THE AIRBORNE DEPLOYMENT

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] Apparently the President had been convinced of the necessity of alerting the forces on the basis of an extremely rapid response time, in the event that the situation in Santo Domingo underwent a drastic deterioration requiring almost instantaneous response.

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] The timing was reviewed by CJCS and the Vice J-3 during the evening of the 28th and it was determined that sixteen hours would be needed to marshal and load the force. However, CINCSTRIKE had not taken advantage of the two-hour additional warning given as a result of the telephone alert prior to dispatch of the formal JCS directive. The force would thus not be ready until noon on the 29th.

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The airlift scarcity, it should be added, was due to heavy Southeast Asia requirements.

There was a considerable White House interest in the timing issue. The White House Situation Room at midnight asked the NMCC for a review and confirmation of timings. The NMCC at first suggested that the WHSR hold off its requests until morning when much would hopefully have clarified, but the WHSR insisted that it had to have some such data on hand in case the President should call down for it. The Situation Room reported that the CJCS had informed the President's Special Assistant for International Security Affairs, Mr. McGeorge Bundy, at 2030 that the first two BCTs, 2,000 men, could be in Santo Domingo by 0500 on the 29th, followed each succeeding twenty-four hours by 2,000

[1]EA tapes, 29 April 1965.

more men. The WHSR wanted data on the numbers of men, types of units (down to company level), and times of arrival. It needed these figures as soon as possible, otherwise any Presidential query would have to be answered on the basis of the Chairman's comments to Bundy.

The J-3 Atlantic/South Division representative expressed some surprise that the Chairman had promised that the first units could land in just five hours from that time, but the WHSR reiterated their earlier information, that the Chairman had told Bundy the troopers were loading up as they talked (at 2030) and could be put in by 0500 the next day. On checking with the Vice J-3 the NMCC was told the correct timings were 1700 instead of 0500, and 1700 on each of the two following days. These data were passed at once to the WHSR. It may be presumed that Bundy had misunderstood the Chairman.[1] It is an interesting example of how erroneous information circulated at the very highest levels too.

Another misunderstanding appeared at this time in the matter of type load. The Vice J-3 had told CINCSTRIKE some hours earlier his thoughts on the advisability of at least keeping in mind the possibility of sending the troopers with only a light "riot control" configuration. Apparently CINCSTRIKE had sent the word on to ARSTRIKE at Fort Monroe in terms of a crash requirement. ARSTRIKE called the NMCC at 0030 for guidance, reporting that the troop commander did not know whether to continue to load with the standard heavy load or to hold back in view of the possibility of a reconfiguration.

The NMCC DDO explained that the Vice J-3 had spoken in terms of planning only and had not changed the JCS directive to continue the

[1] EA tapes, 29 April 1965.

standard loading. The feeling in the JCS had been that the President, just before he went on TV, might want more troops into Santo Domingo in a hurry, and a light configuration might have saved a few hours. The misunderstanding, accordingly, was resolved.[1]

This problem had no sooner been disposed of than another appeared. At 0123 the WHSR called to the attention of the NMCC an Embassy message regarding the desperate need for medical supplies in Santo Domingo where the Dominican Red Cross estimated minimum casualties of 400 dead and 1200 wounded. The WHSR presumed that the military would fly in emergency medical supplies and had learned that instead these were going by ship. The Ambassador had expressed concern over the delay that would result.

This request for more airlift came just at the moment when the airlift issue bulked large in Joint Staff concern. At 0137 the DDO questioned CINCLANT on the airlift needed for the airborne deployment. The JCS had just learned the magnitude of the airlift required. [

[1] Ibid.

The CINCLANT Watch Officer stated that, as far as he knew, there was no CINCLANT requirement for the five-minute separation, and that he would clarify this point to CINCSTRIKE who could take it up with XVIIIth Airborne Corps and AFSTRIKE.

Furthermore, the DDO reported, there had been some misinterpretation of the JCS directive alerting the four remaining BCTs and the requisite airlift. Apparently MATS had understood the order as requiring that simultaneous lift for all six be ordered to remain in place. This would have meant, of course, that MATS would be unable to fulfill its global commitments. The DDO stressed that the JCS intent was clear, that there was to be a twenty-four-hour separation between the Power Packs.[1]

STRICOM shortly called back with a suggested change which would reduce aircraft requirements to manageable proportions, based upon their best intelligence as to the nature of the operation. Furthermore, they had just become aware of the limitation imposed on the number of aircraft which could be employed by the capacity of the landing area (San Isidro Airfield).

The DDO concurred and strongly urged STRICOM to resolve the problem bilaterally with CINCLANT so as to avoid having the JCS make the decision for them.

[1] Ibid.

B. THE DEVELOPING SITUATION IN SANTO DOMINGO

The second half of the 29th was a crucial period in the U.S. intervention. While message traffic from the Embassy indicated a reduced sense of immediate danger, the decision was made in Washington to reinforce the original group of Marines ashore with a sizeable force. There was still no clear picture of the situation available to the decision makers and it may be presumed that, in the absence of hard facts, a measure of safety and flexibility was sought through the deployment of additional forces.

By morning, drastic efforts were being made to gather critical information, to the extent of direct calls from the CJCS to TG 44.9. Around 0900 General Wheeler called the Task Group and asked for four items of intelligence: the strength of the opposing forces; the location of the bulk of the two forces; the apparent leaders on either side; any particular man who stood out as an "anti-Communist" leader.

An hour later CTG 44.9 called the Chairman with answers to his questions, presumably derived from the Embassy. Rebel forces were estimated to consist of 1400 military and 3000 nonmilitary armed civilians. The strength of the junta forces was unknown, except that they consisted of Air Force, Navy, and training school troops under Wessin. The rebel forces were concentrated largely in the southeast corner of the city, west of the river, while junta forces were believed to be largely east of the river. Commodore Dare identified Benoit as head of the junta and Montas Guerrero as chief of the "loyal" forces.

Dare also proffered an additional piece of information, that the Ambassador wanted no more Marines landed at this time.[1]

Twenty minutes later the CJCS again called Dare, asking if there were still fighting going on. Dare replied that there was "no fighting declared in the area this morning," an ambigious answer

[1] EA tapes, 29 Apr 1965.

which is open to several interpretations as to his meaning, based upon his understanding of the situation. The Chairman also wished to know what had happened to the thousand Army troops Montas Guerrero was reported to have brought into the city from San Cristobal. Dare did not know. As to the police and their current status, Dare reported that downtown they were ineffective, but that in the outlying areas they still held control. The Chairman asked directly if the Commodore felt that the situation required more Marines ashore, the Ambassador's position notwithstanding, to which Dare responded in the negative, assuming that his mission was unchanged.

The last question is interesting as it perhaps indicates a change in the current of events. Up to this point, the decision makers in Washington had relied almost exclusively upon the Ambassador's judgment in regard to the extent of U.S. intervention. There now appears another, Washington-based, pressure for an increased U.S. commitment. In other words, it seems that now elements in the decision-making group and their advisors had decided that only an intervention would save the day, and these elements began increasing pressure toward that end, irrespective of the Ambassador's position.

Around 1000 Bennett reported that the firing in the city had reduced in volume. He also stated that the junta had prepared a plan of action to clean up the rebel area, but that the morale of the junta troops was very low. The junta chiefs were attempting to use the U.S. presence to restore morale and Radio San Isidro, the junta-controlled station, was actually urging the U.S. Marines to join the impending clean up. To counter the poor junta morale, Bennett stated that the rebels could also be assumed to be tiring. Furthermore, they had not yet wished or been able to break out of the center of the city. His assessment concluded that the establishment of law and order depended upon whether the 2000 or so remaining junta troops could hold together long enough to effect their mission. If they did not do it quickly, large-scale defections were likely.[1]

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 291421Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

There are two most interesting aspects to this message. Where just a day before the junta forces were described as in a process of disintegration, they now were preparing plans to "mop up" the rebels. Secondly, the junta was very obviously trying to draw the U.S. in as deeply as possible.

Several hours later, Bennett reported on a meeting of the Diplomatic Corps where there was general agreement that no basis existed for diplomatic intervention in the situation at this time. Several of the Latin American envoys also supported the Marine landing as the only means of achieving some protection.[1]

About this time the decision was made in Washington to land more Marines, despite the Ambassador's position on the matter. At 1415 the Vice J-3 alerted CINCLANT of the coming message to land 500 more Marines and to deploy two BCTs to Ramey. He stressed that the CTG 44.9 should be informed that State knew of and approved the move. The formal JCS message went out an hour later, specifying that the mission of the additional troops would be the protection of U.S. citizens. The two BCTs were to be chopped to CINCLANT operational control upon execution of the deployment and were to maintain a two-hour alert while standing by at Ramey. The message underscored the need for secrecy; no statements were authorized except as directed by OSD/PA.[2]

The movement of the two BCTs to Ramey was presumably part of the political nature of the U.S. deployments. The BCTs, only minutes from Santo Domingo, represented new pressure being brought to bear on the situation in the city, without requiring the actual deployment into the city itself.

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 291755Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] JCS 001023 to CINCLANT and CINCSTRIKE, 291914Z Apr 1965, SECRET.

This half-step forward illustrates the ambivalence among the Washington decision makers and the play of contradictory forces. Presumably it was still hoped that the junta forces would bestir themselves and destroy the rebels despite the repeated statements by Bennett that these troops were of little combat effectiveness. However, it will be recalled that during the morning he had contradicted himself by reporting their plans to "mop up" the rebels. Furthermore, while strong forces, primarily the military and several key officers in State were urging strong decisive action in the form of a major and all-out U.S. commitment, there were obviously elements who hesitated to agree with such a step. Had there been a universal acceptance of the Communist menace among the decision makers, there was no need to take the half-step to Ramey.

Thus far the commitment had been piecemeal but all within one dimension, that of landing Marines actually in the area. The landing of Marines for police duty was one thing; an airborne assault landing quite another. The Caribbean was accustomed to U.S. Marines in police duties, and later even the sternest critics of the U.S. intervention were to agree that the initial Marine landing could have been justified and would have been accepted by the Latin American states for what it purported to be. An airborne landing of U.S. Army forces was a new dimension which changed the nature of the U.S. intervention and opened wide the Pandora's Box of political controversy.

With this decision came increased efforts to improve communication and the flow of information from the city to Washington. At 1420 the Vice J-3 directed the EA Room to arrange for him to make a call to Commodore Dare every thirty minutes on the single side-band, and then, in talking with the TG, informed them of the necessity for half hourly situation reports. There was nothing new to report at the moment from the TG, but the Commodore had just gone ashore and presumably would send back current information within a couple of hours.

It should be recalled, in this effort to reconstruct the hour-by-hour development of the situation, that the Pentagon still had no independent information source of its own, and was still relying upon information received from the Embassy and transmitted either by CTG 44.9 or from State itself. A full situation report from Dare, such as the TG promised above, would be the first to come from a senior U.S. military officer on the scene.

An additional aspect to this problem came to the surface at this time. [redacted]

The SecDef had repeatedly found himself embarrassed by the lack of key information with which to reply to the President's queries. Hence, it became a matter of special concern for the military to develop immediately an up-to-the-minute pipeline from the Dominican Republic.

Following his conversation with TG 44.9, the Vice J-3 informed the Deputy SecDef that a report from Dare would soon be forthcoming. Mr. Vance, however, had just received word from State of a conversation with the Ambassador in which Bennett had spoken of a general war weariness and had said that both he [redacted] did not see at this time "a need for direct intervention."[1] This was another indication of the Ambassador's apparently increasing hesitation. This curious and unaccountable ambivalence, this tendency to oscillate between extremes at the slightest change in the wind, complicated immeasureably the efforts in Washington to understand the situation.

[1] EA tapes, 29 Apr 1965.

Consequently, there appeared a growing disenchantment with the Ambassador's judgment among key military figures, which strengthened their desire to get on-the-spot military appraisals of the situation. It began to seem that the Ambassador, having raised the alarm and put the machine into motion, was now attempting to brake it before anything major had been accomplished.

Less than two hours after the decision to land the 500 additional Marines, and less than that after Bennett's comment about "no need for direct intervention", the situation changed again. Sniper fire against the Embassy was claimed to have begun at 1340, and return fire by the Marines on guard had killed two snipers. The hostile fire had ceased by 1630 with no casualties or damage inflicted on the Embassy or its staff. However, shortly before 1600 Bennett asked State to transmit to Commodore Dare his request to land the remainder of the Marine Expeditionary Unit aboard the Phibron.[1] At 1600 the Vice J-3 directed CINCLANT to notify CTG 44.9, and the formal JCS message followed ten minutes later, specifying "no change in mission."[2]

Ambiguity remained extraordinarily prevalent. Twenty minutes after the Vice J-3 had alerted CINCLANT, the former was called by the Deputy SecDef who reported that the Ambassador's request had apparently been unclear as to whether he wanted the troops actually ashore or merely to be ready to go ashore. The Deputy SecDef directed that the troops be put ashore, but that they would not be committed to anything until a more complete picture of the situation was available. It was later determined that Bennett and Dare, in their review at the Embassy of the situation at this time, had decided jointly to ask for additional forces.

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[1] EA tapes, 29 Apr 1965.
[2] JCS 1037 to CINCLANT, 292011Z Apr 1965 SECRET.

Bennett soon after this sent to State his recommendations on the area to be sealed off and protected, this apparently being the purpose of the additional force landings. He reported that Dare felt he would require three hours to disembark his entire force which would gather at the Hotel. By that time, Bennett again repeated, as he had through the day, that he hoped to have a clearer picture of the situation. He felt it would be necessary to expand the perimeter of the area already being secured, the first phase to secure the residential area of the city from the Hotel to the National Palace. Most Americans lived in this area and securing it would best safeguard U.S. lives and property. Furthermore, this was the Embassy area, and many of the Diplomatic Corps were nervous. Securing the area would also help gain the political support for further necessary military action on our part.

The Ambassador offered estimates, admittedly very conjectural, on the forces engaged. The rebels comprised, at best guess, a "hard core of Communist-trained fighters" numbering some 1500, 1000 regular Army troops, and up to 4000 irregulars. (This hard core of 1500 was a new element, unmentioned previously.) It was uncertain how many of these rebels would engage in direct combat with junta forces.

The Ambassador drew a gloomy picture of the junta dispositions. Wessin on the east of the city had approximately 1000 men; Imbert commanded 300 from the Police Palace near the Embassy; Rivera Cuesta had 200 at the Intendencia General; Rivera Caminero 100 men from Jaina gathered at the fair grounds; only a fraction of the original 9700 police could be accounted for. The junta had failed to bring in troops from the countryside for reasons which were obscure but which included poor communications, uncertainty as to where control of forces in the field lay, and lack of leadership. Bennett noted that an Embassy officer had spent the day at the junta headquarters at San Isidro and had found great confusion with nothing being accomplished.[1]

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 292023Z Apr 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

A major concern of the Embassy during this period was the critical shortage of food supplies in the city which had resulted from the interdiction of the roads leading into the city. The Ambassador asked State for emergency authorization to distribute all U.S. surplus food stocks currently in Santo Domingo warehouses. Medical supplies were similarly a desperate problem and a great deal of cable traffic concerned Embassy requests for more supplies.

The JCS in the meantime continued its efforts to obtain independent military assessments of the situation by suggesting that Commodore Dare send a small communications liaison group to the San Isidro headquarters of the junta or to the headquarters of Montas Guerrero. This would permit a flow of information as well as establish a link between the U.S. forces and the fragmented junta units. Dare replied that he would not likely be able to establish such links until morning, since his communications facilities were currently being utilized in the landing.

The whole issue of communications capability was then opened as Dare requested more communications both ashore and afloat. The JCS responded with energetic efforts to supply him with whatever he needed.

The estimate of developments held in Washington at this time saw the situation polarizing, with most of the original rebel leaders of the PRD withdrawing from the conflict and calling for a cease-fire. The rebel forces were considered to be fully under the control of Castroite-Communist elements. One intelligence summary also reported some indications that old line Trujillo elements, exiled until now, might be attempting to return in order to exploit the chaotic circumstances of the hour.[1]

[1]CINCLANT to CINCLANTFLT 292030Z Apr 1965 SECRET.

Based upon the body of information available by this time, a decision had apparently been made at the highest levels that a direct military intervention might very soon become necessary to retrieve the situation. Hope that the Marine landing would encourage the junta and discourage the rebels was clearly fading in Washington by late Thursday. The SecState notified the White House at 1715 that a message had been sent to the Embassy requesting an estimate of the current situation and whether direct U.S. intervention was necessary to save it. The cable reiterated that "we could not afford to permit the situation to deteriorate to the point where a Communist takeover occurred."[1]

The form that such an intervention might take now assumed key significance. The SecState, in his effort to maintain what he called the "fig leaf of neutrality and nonintervention," suggested that once the landing forces were all ashore, an international safety zone be established over the area from the Embassy westward to the Hotel. On raising the issue with Dare, it was learned that he and the Ambassador had already, by 1600 that is, discussed and planned for just such an arrangement. There had been some initial concern in the JCS that State might be laying an excessive demand upon him in view of his available force.[2]

This was the second step in the intervention concept, an extension really of the mission for protection of U.S. lives. The issue of the mission was to grow more complex in the next twenty-four hours.

C. THE ACTIVATION OF JOINT TASK FORCE 122

Until this point, Commodore Dare, CTG 44.9, was the senior U.S. military representative in Santo Domingo. With the whole operation about to expand with astonishing suddenness, the command organization was revamped to support it.

As early as the 26th CINCLANT had initiated steps to activate JTF 122 under Vice Admiral K. S. Masterson (Commander U.S. Second Fleet) as Commander JTF 122 designate. At 1830 on the 28th Masterson

[1] SecState to White House, 292115Z Apr 1965 SECRET.
[2] EA tapes, 29 Apr 1965.

had been directed by the Deputy CINCLANT "to form a nucleus for a joint staff for JTF 122; to move to the waters off the Dominican Republic; to be prepared to assume the duties of CJTF 122; and to execute OPLAN 310/2 on directive."

Masterson and a group of nine officers left Norfolk by air at 2045 on the 28th, arriving at Ramey eight hours later. They were met and briefed by Rear Admiral Caldwell, COMCARIBSEAFRON, and with him flew to San Juan for further briefings. From here the group flew to Ponce at 0615 on the 29th, arriving at first light, and embarked on the USS LEAHY which got under way immediately for Santo Domingo. On arrival off the city, Masterson transferred to the BOXER and assumed command as CJTF 122 at 1632 on the 29th.[1] This, it will be noted, was twenty hours after he left Norfolk.

Masterson was briefed by Commodore Dare on the situation ashore, and as his first act, took immediate steps to improve the intelligence picture which he found was extremely poor. Late in the evening an intelligence officer was sent ashore to remain at the Embassy in order to gather information for transmission to CJTF 122 via covered communication circuits through Washington or by helicopter from the Embassy to the BOXER, a step which proved immediately beneficial. The officer also provided a coordination point with the Ambassador and the Embassy staff, an arrangement suggested to Dare by the Deputy J-3 in order that all interested parties be coordinated on military plans and operations. With the Ambassador, State, the JCS, CINCLANT, and CTG 44.9 all involved, it had become crucial to tighten up the system. The repeated references to this requirement in high-level conversations indicates the seriousness with which it was viewed.

[1] Commander JTF 122 (Comdr US 2nd Flt), Operation Power Pack, 28 Apr-7 May 1965, TOP SECRET, 9 May 1965.

The Marine landing was now in process and was completed at 2130 on the 29th when the units landed at Haina linked up with the troops then in the vicinity of the polo field. CTG 44.9 was then dissolved and redesignated CTF 124, acting under CJTF 122.

The BLT of the Carib Phibron was to be brought up to full strength by the dispatch of two companies by air from Camp Lejeune to Guantanamo and thence by destroyer to Santo Domingo. The full BLT would thus be available on shore by early morning.[1]

Thus as the second day of American military operations drew to a close, U.S. Marines were preparing to expand their perimeter and airborne troops were in the air en route to Puerto Rico. It is now necessary to examine the airborne operations.

[1] EA tapes

VI. THE AIRBORNE DEPLOYMENT

The airborne troops involved in the Dominican operation were the 82nd Airborne Division, based at Fort Bragg, and under the command of XVIIIth Airborne Corps. The Commanding General of XVIII Airborne Corps reported to CONARC which was also ARSTRIKE. Late on the 29th operational command of the 82nd was chopped to CINCLANT.

[redacted]

The XVIIIth Airborne Corps was notified by phone at 2230 on the 26th by the USCONARC/CINCARLANT plans officer of a possible contingency alert for [redacted] An hour and a half later the Corps received an info copy of a CINCSTRIKE message to ARSTRIKE directing that two BCTs be placed in Defcon 3 for [redacted] This information was relayed verbally to the 82nd Airborne Division. The message requested identity of units and the approximate number of aircraft to move these units, configured for parachute assault. From the beginning, then, the expectation was that of a parachute assault landing.

In examining the airborne deployment, it is necessary to keep in mind the meaning of Defcon status as it applies to airborne operations. A Defcon 3 status is attained when the unit is ready to load. [redacted]

[redacted]

As the 82nd began to prepare in response to the alert, it encountered a series of unexpected problems deriving from its normal duties. The difficulties were not serious in their effect on deployment, since they were resolved before the force was ordered into movement. However, they are illustrative of the type of circumstance which could be of crucial importance. They would have been so had the airborne troops been ordered to Santo Domingo immediately on the 26th or 27th instead of after the intervening three days of alert waiting.

These problems arose out of Exercise Blue Chip, a regular demonstration for the Service schools which had been in preparation for the three weeks prior to the 26th. Blue Chip called for four days of operations by the 82nd, a two-day exercise repeated once. The first big drop was held on the 26th with the follow-up scheduled for the 28th, but because of weather, the second drop was delayed and was rescheduled for the 29th. The first drop had been carried out when the Division was alerted, but rigging for the second drop had already begun. Blue Chip loads were already on the rigging lines and partially prepared for rigging. CINCSTRIKE had asked that he be given control of Blue Chip this year, a responsibility previously exercised by CONARC, and in accordance with that responsibility, he continued to plan for its execution as scheduled. Responsibility for cancellation lay with the JCS. CINCLANT apparently did call the J-3 General Operations Division (Joint Exercise Control Group) about the issue when the first alerts went out but did not receive any guidance.

Since no word came from higher headquarters to halt Blue Chip, the Division decided to continue it as scheduled, especially since the Dominican alert might, like others the Division had responded to, turn out to be a false alarm.[1]

Therefore because an early decision to cancel the demonstration was not made, the contingency loads and the Blue Chip loads were rigged concurrently. It is unclear whether the issue was taken to the JCS. Certainly CINCSTRIKE was aware of it, since the J-3 of STRICOM was the Blue Chip commander, while the Deputy CINCSTRIKE was also present at Fort Bragg for the exercise.

Only five rigging lines were available to rig both the contingency loads and the Blue Chip loads. The contingency heavy engineer loads were rigged at the departure airfield with, according to a Division report, "considerable effort and loss of efficiency."[2]

It was not decided that contingency loads would rig prior to the Blue Chip loads until 0950 on the 27th. Priority for loading aircraft still remained with Blue Chip, and indeed the Blue Chip heavy drop was loaded aboard 33 aircraft on the 28th. Late in that afternoon it was decided at Division Headquarters to go ahead on the Blue Chip personnel drop, but to stop the further loading of equipment. At midnight the 82nd was instructed by ARSTRIKE, on order of CINCSTRIKE, to cancel the Blue Chip heavy drop and to put Power Pack I on Defcon 2. The 33 Blue Chip aircraft were ordered to be unloaded.

Furthermore, late on the 28th CINCSTRIKE warned the Division that four more BCTs would be placed on Defcon 2 with modified heavy drop rigging. However, another CINCSTRIKE message at 0025 on the 29th ordered a two-battalion brigade task force (Power Pack II) to Defcon 3 effective at once. This task force was not to rig for heavy drop. In response to this message, the Division Commander placed the entire Division on Defcon 3.

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[1]Interview, CG 82nd Abn Division, Fort Benning, 8 September 1965.
[2]USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, Analysis of Operations, 21 Jun 65, ~~SECRET~~.

Loading of the 111 heavy drop Power Pack I aircraft did not begin until 0110 on the 29th and was not completed until eighteen and a half hours later. The delay resulted from the late establishment of Air Force inspection points for the loaded aircraft and the fact that the Blue Chip unloading and Power Pack loading had to be done concurrently and in nighttime. Keeping the loads separate was time consuming. It might be added that the unloading was necessary, even though the Blue Chip loads were a full standard combat heavy load, because the equipment used in demonstrations was intentionally older and second line material.[1]

In part the delay can be accounted for by the definition of Defcon 2 as applied to airborne operations, as described above. The 111 heavy load aircraft had all to be loaded, and troops alongside their personnel carriers, before Defcon 2 was attained. Launching of these latter aircraft could have started much earlier, especially since the heavy drop equipment proved unnecessary in the actual establishment of the initial airborne lodgement in the Dominican Republic.

Despite the several technical reasons mentioned above, there had been an overall delay caused by the failure to cancel Blue Chip when the first concrete indications of a crisis became evident.

The delay in getting the force airborne and into Ramey was viewed critically at top decision-making level, since the intent was clearly to position the troops rapidly in Puerto Rico where their presence could exert some political influence that perhaps might lead to developments which would render unnecessary their ultimate deployment to Santo Domingo. The take-off came almost three hours after the JCS had expected it. The JCS had gone on the basis of a two-hour alert for the airborne troops, but in airborne procedure, this meant two hours to get the troops to the field. Two more hours was planned for loading and launching. This procedural misunderstanding, plus the fact that it took CINCLANT more than half an hour to transmit the launch order to the airborne units, produced the unexpected delay. The JCS

[1]Interview, HQ 82nd Abn Div, San Isidro Airfield, D. R., 11 Aug 65.

had originally thought the delay was a result of Air Force problems in moving the aircraft, but this was not the case.

The last aircraft of the parachute assault elements was launched at 2234 on the 29th. [

The first recycle aircraft were originally programmed to move the airlanded portion of Power Pack I, but other higher priority units were injected into the airstream, and, as will be seen, a certain amount of confusion resulted.

A. THE IN-FLIGHT CHANGE OF OBJECTIVE

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At 1750 the possibility of going direct to San Isidro and airlanding the assault echelon was first mentioned within the JCS. The idea was received with consternation, and arguments were immediately offered against such a radical plan revision. At 1903 the Deputy SecDef directly posed to the Vice J-3 the question of when the decision would have to be made if it were decided to send the airborne force directly to San Isidro instead of to Ramey. He asked if the force could land that night. While the Vice J-3 was gathering information on the point, Mr. Vance called directly to CJTF 122 aboard the BOXER to ask if San Isidro were capable of taking C-130s at night. CJTF said the field was reported useable but he did not know whether any warning would be required.

A few minutes later the CJCS directed the Vice J-3 to alert the airborne force to the possibility of a diversion to San Isidro for an airlanded operation. The Chairman pointed out that security during an airlanded operation should not be a problem, since there had never

been any rebels reported at San Isidro, nine miles away from the rebel-held downtown area of the city.

This sudden change in plans would appear to have arisen from a meeting of the decision-making group at this time. The situation of the junta forces was apparently viewed as critical and the small force of Marines ashore would be too fully committed to the defense of U.S. lives and property to do much to influence the course of events. The CJCS stated the reason to the Vice J-3 at 1936, namely, the fear that the "whole thing was going to fold up on us unless we could get some troops in. If we were to wait until dawn, we might not have anything to support." The purpose, then, was to support the junta forces, a clear change in the prior single mission of the U.S. intervention.

The Chairman at this time directed that J-3 start planning actively to divert the BCTs to San Isidro; that CTG 44.9, in preparation for diversion of the airborne deployment to San Isidro, send some of his officers with members of the Air Attache's office to San Isidro to ensure that the field was lighted and ready for the airlanding of airborne units.

The Chairman said the Attache would know about the security situation at the field since he was reported to have been out there an hour ago. The Vice J-3 told him that the Deputy CINCLANT was strongly opposed to the airlanding at night, and offered an alternative; namely, to go into Ramey as scheduled and then drop as configured on San Isidro at first light next morning. He argued that the aircraft parking problem at San Isidro, inevitable confusion of a night landing, and security all weighed in favor of a drop at first light.

The conversation also revealed a curious lack of information on Admiral Masterson and his whereabouts. Three hours after Masterson had taken command as CJTF 122, neither the Chairman nor the Vice J-3 knew of it. Nor did they know on what ship he was stationed.[1]

[1] EA tapes, 29 April. Admiral Masterson's location was clarified for the CJCS at 2355Z.

The Vice J-3 was particularly concerned about the change in plan and pursued the issue to STRICOM. STRICOM told him that it would be "almost impossible" to airland instead of drop. Since all the equipment in the heavy drop element was rigged on pallets, two special items of equipment, 25K loaders and cranes, would be needed to unload the aircraft. STRICOM estimated that fifteen loaders would be needed plus five special cranes (which were not at San Isidro and were not air-transportable anyway) in order to unload Power Pack I (PPI) in twelve hours. It was "almost impossible" to unload by hand.[1]

This information was passed to the Deputy SecDef by the Vice J-3, along with an estimate of one and a half to two days unloading time. In the meantime, none of the troops engaged in unloading would be available for operations. The latter estimated that the decision to divert to San Isidro would have to be made within two hours, or by 2200.

At 2106 the decision had not yet been made, as the decision makers continued to meet in the White House. (Mr. Vance stayed with Mr. Ball in his office at State, the two acting as executive agents for the operation on behalf of DOD and State.) The Vice J-3 continued his desperate effort to muster effective arguments against the change in plan, drawing with CINCLANT's help, a picture of the airborne troops landing and finding themselves under heavy attack with only their personal weapons and basic individual load of ammunition for defense.

Soon after, however, the decision was made, and the CJCS at 2135 notified CINCLANT that the former's attempt to block a change in plan had failed. The political authorities wished the first Power Pack to be airlanded. The CJCS was interested in the delay that would result if the airborne force were allowed to continue to Ramey to do minimum reconfiguring before being sent on to San Isidro for an airlanding, an alternative that had been raised to the deployment direct to San Isidro. Discussion of the point indicated that such a move would

[1] EA tapes, 29 April.

provide no real gain and would only sacrifice several more hours. It was decided that the force should be sent straight to San Isidro for the airlanding as soon as possible, during hours of darkness, and that if the field were incapable of handling all the aircraft involved, some could fly to Ramey to wait there until the San Isidro saturation eased. The Deputy CINCLANT reported that a few minutes before, CTG 44.9 had notified him that San Isidro was ready to take any type of aircraft on fifteen-minute notice.

The CJCS repeated that the mission of the airborne force was protection of American lives.[1] The CJCS did not mention the mission of preventing a junta collapse.

The formal JCS directive to CINCLANT ordered the diversion and gave authority to phase the remainder of the air column through Ramey, in the event of congestion, until traffic conditions permitted an orderly landing. Safety was stressed. CINCLANT was to ensure that "friendly forces" in the airfield area were alerted for the landing and to assist in air control and unloading.

[redacted]

The decision also involved employment of a huge portion of Air Force airlift resources, cutting deeply into aircraft currently committed to Southeast Asia.

As the Power Pack I units approached their destination, it was agreed between the Tactical Air Command (not AFLANT as such) and CINCLANT that TAC should have operational control of the aircraft until the troops were on the ground, after which OPCON would switch to CJTF 122. This irregular procedure, TAC not being in the chain of command, was necessitated by an involved arrangement agreed upon to improve the landing situation at San Isidro.

[1] EA tapes, 29 April.
[2] JCS 1089 to CINCLANT, 300117Z April 1965, SECRET.

The flight stream consisted of four elements, Serials A, B, C, D. A carried the troops and consisted of thirty-three aircraft; B carried part of the equipment. B happened to be first in the stream because it had been rushed out of Pope AFB more rapidly than personnel could be moved at that time. TAC recommended that Serial B go on to Ramey and, taking advantage of its headstart, do some reconfiguring there. Serial A would go on to San Isidro, and land the troops who would then be available to try to unload Serials C and D as they followed in.

This was the way the situation eventually worked out. [redacted] San Isidro could park a maximum of fifty planes and really only forty safely. The huge aircraft were kept taxiing around the field, nose to tail in elephant-train fashion. It might be added that in the confusion of the landing, the Joint Staff was never able to determine exactly how many aircraft went to Ramey, since knowledge of the arrangement with TAC seems not to have been disseminated widely. What was generally believed was that the entire force, as per change in the plan, was going directly to San Isidro.[2]

As the huge air stream moved south, air traffic control communications in the southeastern U. S. and en route proved inadequate to handle a movement of such magnitude. Delays in making position reports, due to channel saturation, frequently caused two to three-hour delays in knowing aircraft positions. This caused some concern for the timely alerting of air rescue operations, as well as complicating the problem of controlling the deployment into San Isidro.

Brigadier General Delashaw, commander of the Air Force Task Force, was aboard a TAC airborne command post orbiting over San Isidro and controlling the air stream as it approached the objective area.

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[1] CINCAFLANT to CINCLANT, 242138Z June 1965, SECRET, Analysis of Operations.

[2] Interviews, J-3, Joint Staff.

He remained in control until Air Force control facilities were established on the ground, after which he returned to Ramey to conduct further operations from there.

The first aircraft, carrying Major General York, Commanding General of the 82nd, landed at San Isidro at 0216. Ten minutes later CINCLANT notified the NMCC, reporting that the airfield lights were on and the tower manned by U.S. Navy personnel.[1]

Beginning at first light and throughout the day, Marine fighters from Roosevelt Roads maintained a combat air patrol over the airfield area.

One footnote will be of interest here, in view of the tremendous concern generated over the change in plans from an air drop to an air landing. Once the force was on the ground and had time to examine the drop zone on which they would have descended had not the change occurred, it was found that the area was covered with jagged coral outcroppings. In addition, a great many small trees which had dotted the area had recently been cut down, leaving hundreds of spike-like stumps. In the words of the CJCS, "The area would have been completely unsuitable for an airdrop and would have caused numerous injuries."[2]

The drop zone had been selected on the basis of a map study by the XVIIIth Airborne Corps, and about a year prior to the crisis, the military Attaches in Santo Domingo had been requested to inspect the DZ. Apparently there had not been an adequate foot reconnaissance which would have revealed the coral outcroppings in the grass. In the intervening year, furthermore, the trees had been cut down, creating a new hazard.[3]

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[1] EA tapes, 30 April.

[2] CM-659-65, Memorandum to the Director Joint Staff - Analysis of Operations, 8 June 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

[3] Interview, J-2 USCOMDOMREP, Santo Domingo, 9 August 1965.

B. PREPARATIONS TO RECEIVE THE AIRBORNE FORCE

As the airborne force moved south, arrangements were undertaken by American command authorities on the scene to smooth the way and to prepare for the employment of the force. Admiral Masterson was now in command and would take operational control of the paratroops once they landed, but the Admiral was aboard the BOXER offshore and communications between the ship and shore points were still imperfect.

At 2200 Masterson held a teletype conference with the Deputy CINCLANT on the change in the airborne deployment plan. During the conference, General Imbert of the junta group came aboard the BOXER to discuss the junta's situation and to plan for the introduction of the U. S. airborne forces which had previously been expected during the daylight hours on the 30th. Imbert assured Masterson that San Isidro was in friendly hands and that he and his aides would accompany JTF 122 personnel to the airfield to help prepare it for the incoming aircraft.

At 0020 the aides to Masterson and General Tompkins, Deputy CJTF, along with a captain from the Phibron, went with Imbert and his group to San Isidro where the field was found to be secured by Imbert's troops. A U.S. Navy lieutenant was stationed in the airfield control tower to assist in the landings.[1]

On arrival at the field, General York was met by a USAF major from the Embassy, but lost him in the darkness and furious activity of the landing. York wandered in the dark around the field until a civilian car with five men in it appeared. One was General Imbert and he took York to the control tower where JTF 122 people were in charge.[2]

A JTF 122 liaison officer delivered to York a copy of Masterson's reply to a JCS planning directive, in which the Admiral had outlined

[1] Commander JTF 122, Report, 9 May 1965.
[2] Interview, Fort Benning, Georgia, 8 September 1965.

an immediate mission for York's troops. York reported to Masterson at 0830 aboard the BOXER and was directed to assume command of all the ground forces. [ ] Furthermore, the CJCS had emphasized to General Bowen, the CG of the XVIIIth Airborne Corps, his desire to see York assume the role as soon as possible (the command had to be assigned to him by CJTF 122). The Chairman also suggested that York move his headquarters close to the Embassy to permit an improved degree of military-political coordination.[1] In furtherance of this objective, York and General Tompkins went by helicopter from the BOXER to confer with Ambassador Bennett at the Embassy.[2]

As part of the effort to improve communications and coordination, Colonel Quilty, USMC, the MILGROUP Chief, reported to Masterson at 0900 to act as CTF 122.2, an additional liaison mechanism between the Embassy and Masterson. A voice communication circuit also was established between the MILGROUP and the Embassy and Quilty. By this time Masterson had some voice communications with his component units, although this was erratic, and was using helicopters for the delivery of classified traffic.

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[1] EA tapes.

[2] CJTF 122, Report.

VII. PLANS AND OPERATIONS

As the airborne deployments got under way, there remained a vast cloud of uncertainty over the mission of the U.S. intervention. The paratroopers, as with the Marine landing force, had been instructed merely that their mission would be to protect American lives. The confusion of information which existed at the upper decision-making levels was fully paralleled at lower echelons. There was no clear picture of who the enemy was, what the U.S. forces would do, or what the objective might be. This led to a spectrum of expectations as to the mission.

A. ESTABLISHING THE MISSION

General York, for example, has stated that en route to Santo Domingo he deduced for himself, from available information, a reasonable mission. Initially he would secure the airhead and establish a bridgehead across the Ozama River. Beyond that he fully expected that U.S. forces would be directed to clear the city of rebel forces. The Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy, Connett, also expected that to be the mission, and believed that York was prevented from doing so when the junta forces collapsed.[1]

The mission, however, was being worked out on a tentative basis by the joint political and military decision makers in Washington. Shortly before midnight on the 29th, the CJCS instructed the Vice J-3 to direct CJTF 122 to prepare a planning directive using certain guidelines. The rebels were concentrated in the southeast part of Santo Domingo. CJTF's objective was to establish road blocks and cordons to the extent possible around the perimeter without unnecessarily endangering his forces. He was to accept the fact that small

[1] Interviews, U.S. Embassy, Santo Domingo, and Fort Benning, Ga.

rebel groups might infiltrate the area. The plan was to be based initially on using forces ashore and be extended when the airborne troops arrived. Hopefully the cordon would be established in connection with a cease-fire pending OAS determination of a termination of hostilities. Masterson was also asked for his estimate of additional troops needed in addition to the Marines ashore and the two BCTs en route.[1]

The CJCS called Masterson at 2208 to ask his opinion on establishing an international safety zone. Masterson said that his predecessor, Commodore Dare, had been discussing the problem with him and that he saw no difficulties in doing it with the forces available. In answer to the Chairman's query about the planning directive, Masterson said that it was just in the process of coming over the teletype. The Chairman requested that it be given urgent attention.[2]

The Admiral called the Vice J-3 at 2336 to say he could carry out the provisions of the JCS planning directive. He stressed that he would like the additional Marine company of the BLT, and was assured by the Vice J-3 that it was en route aboard two destroyers and would arrive around sunrise. He wanted to be sure he had authority to begin to establish the international safety zone as soon as possible, and this was confirmed by the Vice J-3.

Around 0100 a personal message from the CJCS to Masterson stated that, at a highest level meeting just concluded, problems connected with the mission of forces and the deployment of airborne troops had been discussed. The OAS was now in session and was not expected to terminate until the early morning hours. Therefore a decision as to the establishment of the cordon mentioned in the earlier JCS planning directive was deferred pending OAS action.

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[1] EA tapes, 29 April. Also JCS 1088 to CINCLANT, 300056Z April 1965, TOP SECRET.

[2] EA tapes, 30 April.

The Chairman asked for an outline of Masterson's plan and his estimate of troop requirements as soon as possible.

The Chairman cautioned that in regard to press queries, military commanders should respond, relative to the 82nd's deployment, that the paratroops were to reinforce the Marines for the purpose of protecting U.S. lives and other foreign nationals. No other conjecture or response was to be made.

In the matter of command arrangements, the Chairman repeated his earlier expressed wish that the senior ground force officer (York) be appointed overall ground force commander as soon as possible, and that his command post be established at the Embassy.

Depending on the results of the OAS meeting, Masterson might be directed during the night to begin establishing an international safety zone, the eastern limit of which would be in the Embassy area and extending westward to the polo grounds.[1]

Masterson sent his plan concept to CINCLANT at about the time the airlanding began. The plan envisioned that on landing, Army forces would establish a local defense perimeter around the airfield and screen the field from the east and north. The brigade (minus the screening and security elements) would move to an assembly area west of the field. When assembled they would effect the relief of junta forces holding the Duarte Bridge and the bridgehead on its western end; secure the bridge; establish a cordon and road blocks east of the river from the bridge to the sea. The Marines would establish a line running north and south, one block east of the Embassy, from the sea inland, effectively sealing off the westernmost sector of the city where most embassies and foreign residences were located.

[1] JCS 1092 to CJTF 122, 300527Z April 1965, TOP SECRET.

The assumption was that junta forces as available would be willing to patrol the wide stretch of the city between the Marine north-south line and the airborne troops along the river.

Masterson felt the plan was sufficiently conservative not to endanger his forces. However, he felt that two more battalions would be needed to seal off effectively the southeast portion of the city, utilizing only U.S. troops. (Apparently, he was already not too confident of any junta support.) He requested permission to open the operation as soon as the airborne forces arrived.[1] Apparently he had not yet received the Chairman's message of an hour before, deferring the establishment of the cordon until the OAS had deliberated.

On arrival York received a handwritten message from Masterson, along with his outline plan, directing York to be prepared to carry out his mission with the fewest possible casualties and minimum force.[2]

The immediate function of the airborne units was not apparent to the Embassy either. State notified DOD shortly after midnight of an earlier alert to the Embassy (time unknown), which told Bennett that 2000 airborne troops would land at San Isidro, beginning about 2300, and that authorities at the airfield, the junta, would be notified by DOD. The message stressed that the action continued to be on a basis of protecting U.S. lives. The OAS, Bennett was told, would meet at 2200 and was expected to consider multilateral action under Article 39 of the OAS Charter and might call on all sides for a cease-fire. A committee would likely be constituted to proceed to Santo Domingo for the purpose of bringing about a cease-fire and establishing the basis for a return to constitutional government.

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[1] CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 300608Z April 1965, SECRET.
[2] Interview, Fort Benning, Georgia, 8 September 1965.

The message told Bennett, for his own private information, that the U.S. was considering the feasibility of interposing U.S. forces between the rebels and the junta forces in order to bring about the cease-fire, thus giving the OAS time to address itself to and find solutions for basic problems. This move would be consistent with our primary purpose which was to protect U.S. lives and with our general policy of opposing the spread of Communist-controlled governments in this hemisphere.[1]

Bennett replied within the hour, asking for guidance on whether the Marine detachment which had disembarked on the previous afternoon had been authorized to move eastward to clear the residential area between the Hotel and the Embassy as discussed in some of yesterday's cables. "Now," Bennett went on, "we have Deptel 189 in regard to the arrival of airborne troops. Is it planned that these troops will immediately begin operations in view of the statement that action continues to be based on a need for the protection of U.S. lives?"[2]

The message is a little ambiguous. It is not known exactly when Bennett first learned of the paratroop deployment. Masterson at 2336 told the Vice J-3 that he had told Bennett, but it is not known whether this warning preceded the earlier mentioned cable from State to Bennett. Connett has said that the Embassy learned of the incoming force only half an hour prior to the landing.[3]

The 0200 resolution of the OAS was transmitted to Bennett at 0350 and gave him the first clear mission. The resolution called for a cease-fire and appealed to both sides to permit the establishment of a neutral international security zone encompassing the Embassy area of the city, within which nationals of all countries would have safe haven. Bennett was thereby given authority, on the basis of

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[1] SecState to DOD, 300445Z April 1965, SECRET.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 300532Z April 1965, SECRET.
[3] Interview, U.S. Embassy, Santo Domingo, 9 August 1965.

the resolution, to use forces to establish a zone encircling both the Embassy and the Hotel. The zone could be enlarged to include the National Palace if, in the judgment of Bennett and the military commanders, it appeared feasible and desirable.

Bennett was directed to use every means to communicate to the Dominican people and to the various political authorities the purpose of the zone and its OAS sanction.[1]

By 0800 the forces available were almost ready to undertake the mission. The CJCS in a phone conference with CJTF 122 ascertained that 1700 paratroops were just then forming up, with one battalion starting to move to the bridge and due to arrive there within an hour. The lack of heavy equipment did not reduce their combat capability for this mission. York was with Masterson as he spoke and confirmed the readiness. On York's recommendation, Masterson asked the Chairman to send the remaining four BCTs in the OPLAN with minimum essential equipment.[2]

B. INTELLIGENCE AND THE SCENE IN SANTO DOMINGO

As the first U.S. military operations were about to begin, during the morning of 30 April, it will be worth pausing in the narrative to focus for a moment on the broader context, after concentration in the last section on U.S. activities. This will not only recall the general setting in which U.S. forces were operating, but will present the problem of understanding the situation as they saw it.

As to the general scene in Santo Domingo, a relatively static situation prevailed. The junta forces hung onto their bridgehead; but, on the other hand, the rebels had not attacked and had not moved out from what was becoming their main stronghold in the southeast corner of the city. In the downtown area, mobs were looting and

[1] SecState to AmEmb, 300750Z April 1965, SECRET.
[2] EA tapes, 30 April 1965.

burning but the degree of damage inflicted and of casualties is extremely difficult to pinpoint. As in the opening days of the revolt, impressions varied markedly. For example, just after midnight of the 30th, the Deputy SecDef relayed to the CJCS the substance of a conversation between Under Secretary of State Ball and the Ambassador Bennett had said the "carnage downtown was incredible," and asked for emergency medical support.[1] At the same time newsmen were reporting a less violent picture.

The one point at which actual "fighting" was occurring between the rebels and their opponents was at the National Police fort called the Fortaleza Ozama, a massive old structure on the river bank. It had come under siege by the rebels early on the 30th, and throughout the day reports [redacted] on the status of the fight. It was of more than passing significance, since the Fortaleza was believed to contain a large arsenal of small arms. Reports as to the weapons themselves varied considerably. Some U.S. sources spoke in terms of 10,000 automatic weapons; another reported only 800 Mauser rifles.[2] In addition there were reported to be nearly 800 policemen in the Fortaleza, whose capture would seriously weaken the junta cause.

U.S. concern over the Fortaleza was expressed by the CJCS to CINCLANT at 1300 on the 30th. Stating [redacted] the Fortaleza was still holding out but was weakening, the Chairman asked if there were any steps which JCTF 122 could prudently take to assist or to relieve the besieged police and to deny the arsenal to the rebels. Masterson was not to construe this request as an order, but it was to be left purely to his judgment. The Chairman suggested that any U.S. moves include not only Marines and paratroopers but the Dominican navy as well.[3]

[1] EA tapes, 29 April 1965.

[redacted]

[3] JCS to CINCLANT, 301703Z April 1965, TOP SECRET.

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[ ] At 1540 the Portaleza was reported completely under rebel control.[2]

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Then there was the issue of the total Dominican casualties. Admittedly, no precise figure can ever be fixed, but the extreme variations in the estimates inevitably raises questions. For example, on the 4th of May CINCLANT reported to the JCS (from the U.S. Commander, Dominican Republic) that the Chief of the Red Cross Mission (Dominican) had reported that on the previous day there were between 1500 and 2000 dead in the city who were to be buried in a common grave.[3] Two days later the Ambassador reported that the Red Cross had provided a figure of 600 confirmed wounded and 150 confirmed dead since the revolt began. Bennett felt the figures were very conservative and that many bodies had been disposed of

[1]
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[3] CINCLANT to JCS, 040820Z May 1965, SECRET.

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without records being kept.[1] Four days after that, on the 10th, Bennett forwarded the latest Red Cross estimates as 500-600 dead and 1000-odd wounded.[2]

The tissue of exaggeration was slow to break down. Even more difficult to obtain than reasonably accurate total casualty estimates were estimates of those supposed to have been murdered by the rebels in cold blood, as opposed to casualties resulting from the armed clashes with junta forces. As late as 17 June, the President in a news conference spoke of "some 1500 innocent people murdered and shot, and their heads cut off" and of "six Latin American embassies that were violated."[3] None of this turned out to be true. On 4 May the President had used in a speech Bennett's information that there were 1000-1500 dead bodies in the streets. Newsmen immediately checked and found that there was no substance at all to the claim.

The size and capability of the rebel force were also persistently overestimated. Alarms were sounded on several occasions on reports of impending rebel attacks on the Embassy, National Palace, etc. None came to pass. Furthermore, "attacks" were fire fights, rather than assaults, and the "fighting" that "raged" between junta and rebel forces apparently did far more damage to the buildings of Santo Domingo (mostly stucco-covered and of slight construction so that a single bullet makes quite an impressive hole) than to the men on either side.

The effect of this exaggeration upon the decision makers can be seen in their reactions. Faced with a difficult situation in which there was an undoubted element of Communist conspiracy, with inadequate communications, with wildly conflicting information coming through, decision makers were given a picture of the situation (or perhaps it would be fairer to say, developed their own conception of the situation on the basis of these several factors) which called for drastic action.

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 060145Z May 1965, SECRET.

[2] AmEmb to SecState, 102315Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

[3] Under Secretary of State Mann, in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stated that he had no idea where the President had found this figure.

This constant use of hyperbole was quickly recognized by the press and led directly to the poisoning of relations between the press corps on the scene and the U.S. command there. The newsmen felt that there had been repeated efforts to misinform them and almost as a body they became intensely hostile to the U.S. intervention. While without doubt much of the misinformation was the result of the unbelievably inadequate intelligence arrangements, this paper thus far has documented enough instances where words and actions varied markedly at least to admit that the press corps had a basis for complaint.

C. THE TACTICAL INTELLIGENCE PICTURE

The differing estimates of the size of the Fortaleza arsenal were merely an indication of the chaotic intelligence picture that was found by the incoming U.S. troops. So contradictory were reports on the situation downtown that even three months later the J-3 of the 82nd was certain that the arms in Fortaleza had for the most part been given by the police to civilians in the vain hope that the civilians would assist them. When the weapons just disappeared, the junta and the U.S. assumed that they had all automatically passed into the possession of the active rebels.[1]

Since the intelligence problem was, throughout the crisis, one of the most pervasive and troublesome, a summary of the difficulties may well be presented at this point. Problems relating to what might be called strategic intelligence, intelligence of the sort which led to the U.S. intervention, have been described above. There was, in addition, a major problem area in tactical intelligence once U.S. forces came ashore and undertook operations.

[redacted]

[1] Interview, HQ 82nd Abn Div., San Isidro, D.R., 11 August 1965.

In some cases data simply did not exist anywhere. There was no street directory of Santo Domingo in existence, nor was information on many of the rebel leaders below the top level available from any source.

When first alerted at their home base, the 82nd did not know where to turn for information, whether CINCSTRIKE, CINCLANT, or XVIIIth Abn Corps. They had no secure communication link to CINCLANT so they felt they could not go direct to LANT for classified data. Normally, the route was via Corps, but Corps was unable to do much initially to help. Most of the information the 82nd Airborne had when Power Pack I landed was derived from the press. They had not received copies of any State messages nor had copies been sent by those agencies which were addressees. There was thus little information upon which to base plans for force organization and deployment.[1]

Therefore, once on the ground, the airborne units initially had only the sketchiest picture of the organization and disposition of the rebel and junta forces, making more difficult the task of evaluating the situation and taking appropriate action. Not only was this key combat-type intelligence very sparse, but the lack of personality information meant that no one had any clear picture, six days after the revolt began, of just who was doing what among all the Dominican leaders. What was painfully apparent was that the Embassy staff had virtually no contacts among the rebels, if indeed any, in sharp contrast to the continuing liaison that was carried out with the junta. Even among the junta, however, it was uncertain where the power and

[1]Interview, ~~HQ 82nd Airborne Division~~, San Isidro, 10 August 1965.

initiative lay.

From the mass of unrelated and often contradictory information available, intelligence had to be produced, and this had to be done simultaneously with the planning and operations which should have been founded upon such intelligence.

It was a week after the airborne D-day before the Embassy was able to respond to requests for information on personalities.

There was a shortage of maps and the ones available were, with the exception of an Esso map, out of date. The town plan (the 1960 Ciudad Trujillo sheet AMS 1:12,500) showed a nonexistent airfield, while street names (many like the name of the city itself, changed after the old dictator departed the scene) were not current. The area on the east bank of the Ozama, north and south of the bridge, where the 82nd strung its screen, was found to be no longer open ground, but thickly settled with a poor housing district. Since location reports were sent in by units on the basis of street names, considerable confusion resulted. The map situation became worse as the force increased in the next week.[2]

The two logical sources for intelligence available to the airborne forces were the Marines who had been in the vicinity for the past four days and the Embassy. The Marines, unfortunately, could contribute little beyond information on their own immediate front. The Embassy, for other reasons, was also of less immediate help than might have been expected.

[1]Interview, USCOMDOMREP, Santo Domingo, 9 August 1965.
[2]USCOMDOMREP, Analysis of Operations, op.cit.

D. THE STATE OF THE EMBASSY

A brief picture should be drawn from available information of the Embassy during this period. The Embassy, after all, was the senior American headquarters, the source of all information that went to the Washington decision makers and determined their actions, and also the operating arm of U.S. military and political activity on the scene.

The Embassy, by Friday morning, had been under intermittent small arms fire for two days and, while no casualties had been suffered, the firing added to the already overpowering strain imposed by six days of the highest tension. The Embassy staff had been able to enjoy very little sleep, so that by this time their efficiency had markedly run down.

There was considerable concern until the whole Marine BLT had been landed that the rebels might attack and overrun the Embassy. (The building did not even have a fence around it to provide minimal protection against a sudden rush.)

As a consequence of the pressure, the Embassy presented to the incoming airborne officers a picture of "chaos" and of "complete disorganization." These were not invidious statements, since all the commanders soon came to admire the Ambassador and his staff for their performance under intense stress. This was, nevertheless, the image that the focal point of U.S. operations presented on the morning of 30 April.

[1] Interview, USCOMDOMREP, Santo Domingo, 11 August 1965.

There were about twenty-five Foreign Service officers in the Embassy staff when the crisis broke, the size of the group reflecting the concern over Dominican affairs felt in the Department of State. The officers had been reorganized to fulfill a crisis mode of operation, nonessential sections being put to other special uses. The Economics Section, for example, had been given a role in organizing the evacuation.

[redacted]

When the Phibron came inshore, the Embassy had initially very poor communications with the command ship, but a crude system, employing a ham radio owned by an American resident of Santo Domingo, was rigged during the week and did provide some capability between the Embassy and the Phibron. While it was not a secure connection, security was considered a less urgent matter in such a time of crisis.[1]

Coordination measures have already been mentioned in passing. A Marine colonel had come ashore with the initial 400 Marines and had gone to the Embassy to act as liaison. A naval officer also eventually (May 2) was assigned to the Embassy.[2] These officers, plus other personnel, were in a coordination center set up in the rotunda of the Embassy by the MILGROUP Chief. This group attempted to coordinate all military activities, the evacuation, the liaison effort with the junta at San Isidro, and the Marine protective measures.

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[1] Interview, U.S. Embassy, Santo Domingo, 10 August 1965.

[2] This naval officer, a lieutenant commander, who was the personal liaison officer for CJTF 122, reported later that, on his arrival, there seemed little awareness among the Embassy staff of the need to keep Masterson informed. Communications were poor at best, but the liaison officer felt that the lack was due to a failure to understand the need rather than primarily to facilities shortage. However, one may suspect that by this date the Embassy had come to realize that CJTF 122 was a superfluous headquarters which was not really playing a role, and therefore just did not bother to keep information flowing out to the ship.

Another indication of what appears to have been the increasing isolation of Masterson was his request to CINCLANT on Friday morning for a Political Advisor, [redacted] to be assigned to his staff. Apparently such augmentation was actually called for in OPLAN 310/2-63. He requested CINCLANT to raise the issues with the agencies concerned, but recognized that they might prefer to have their representatives act as liaison to the JTF rather than to be assigned as staff augmentation. Nothing ever came of the request. It is interesting to note that during the 1961 Dominican crisis, a POLAD was assigned and was afloat with the Task Force.

Once the airborne units arrived, Generals York and Tompkins (Deputy CJTF) made frequent trips to the Embassy during the period when Tompkins had his headquarters at the polo grounds and York his at San Isidro.

One major difficulty in coordinating political and military activities was the lack of knowledge among key Embassy personnel of the U.S. U.S. contingency plan being partially followed. Connett never saw OPLAN 310/2-65 nor was he briefed on it before the airborne deployments had begun. He was not sure whether the Ambassador had seen the plan or been briefed either, but thought it unlikely, at least until the very last minute. [redacted]

E. COORDINATION WITH THE JUNTA

U.S. contacts with the junta were significant on two grounds. In the first place, they provided intelligence. In the second, they clearly indicated that our public professions of neutrality were incorrect.

With the exception of a couple of periods when contact had been lost, the Embassy Attaches had managed to remain in touch with the Dominican military chiefs. The MILGROUP chief, it will be recalled, had also established contact with them when he returned to the island. Basically, though, the job of liaison was left to the Attaches. These were under the control of the Ambassador and had an intelligence gathering function which the MILGROUP staff formally did not. In fact, involvement of the MILGROUP in intelligence gathering normally would have been consideted detrimental to the MILGROUP function of military assistance.

The three Attaches tried to keep au courant as to the attitudes and actions of their respective Dominican service chiefs. The most effective job in this respect apparently was done by an Army major of the MILGROUP, who, according to several informants,[1] was able to keep close to the junta heads at San Isidro. Of course, such information as the Attaches did gather at San Isidro (where

[1]Interview, U.S. Embassy, Santo Domingo, 9 August 1965.

the MILGROUP Chief had established a liaison detachment on the 28th or 29th) did not always get back to the Embassy because of the communications problem.

The second aspect of this coordination with the junta, discussed along with its consequences in Section II, consisted in the early stages, of encouragement to the military chiefs to unite and to resist in order that their combined resources could counterbalance the initial rebel successes. Quite unequivocally, the Embassy was seeking a junta military victory over the rebels. It was when this hope had faded that the U.S. command authorities decided to commit a major U.S. force of increasing magnitude. The unwillingness of the U.S. Government to admit this and its protestations to the contrary were among the key elements in the development of the wave of criticism which arose over the Dominican action.

At any rate, when the first airborne forces arrived, it was the plan of CJTF 122 and York to employ the junta forces in combination with the U.S. troops to seal off the rebel stronghold. To arrange this and to get the broader feel of the situation, Generals York and Tompkins went to the junta headquarters. The Ambassador had suggested that they discuss the plan with the junta and secure their acquiescence.[1] This was around late afternoon. Contradictory times from several sources make it difficult to follow the activities during this most crowded of crisis days. The Embassy reported the visit at 1700 but Masterson puts it as after 1200.

Before the meeting is described, however, a most interesting and revealing pair of messages must be mentioned. Both were concerned with the junta, one from Bennett at 1425 and one from State to Bennett at 1445, presumably sent before his message had been received at State.

Bennett reported that his Air Attache had attended a meeting of the junta at San Isidro and had been given a letter from Benoit for the Ambassador. Benoit hoped that U.S. forces would not have

[1] CJTF 122, Report.

to become engaged, and asked the U.S. not to enter combat operations until he asked us to. The junta agreed to try once more to crush the rebels, but if the attempt failed, they then would have to call for U.S. assistance.

Bennett said that some of the Dominican commanders apparently felt they could clean up the revolt without U.S. aid. This latest junta position, he pointed out, was inconsistent with their previous urgent appeals for U.S. intervention. He suggested that it must be viewed against the background of the highly emotional environment in which it was made as well as the background of the growing fatigue of the military commanders whose behavior was becoming less and less consistent.

The Embassy Country Team, the Ambassador reported, held doubts as to whether the junta forces currently had the capability to reestablish order without U.S. help. Despite the junta's new position, the Embassy doubted "whether the military commanders had the determination to see the thing through." Even if they had, there was good reason to believe the present Dominican forces were demoralized beyond the ability to do so.[1]

In curious contradiction of Bennett's description of the junta attitude was the cable sent from State. Presumably it reflected the impressions of the junta developed in State during the period from the initial Marine landings on Wednesday until the present. The message was a review of the high points of U.S. policy toward the current crisis. Bennett was first encouraged to use his influence to persuade the junta forces that no useful purpose would be served by rash or ill-advised action. This should not deny them the right to defend themselves, but their most important task was to preserve their existence as an organized Dominican force as a base for the earliest possible effective expansion.

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[1]AmEmb to SecState, 301825Z April 1965, SECRET.

The junta should understand that the crisis was entering a political phase and they should make every effort to capitalize on their position as the only existing organized authority. They should use this position to ensure that OAS action would not result in the ascendancy of Communist groups to political power. U.S. tactics would be designed to support the junta in the achievement of that goal.

State then commented that it was seriously concerned with the change in the junta attitude in regard to the role of U.S. military forces. It conjectured that the junta might believe that the U.S. intended to attack and eliminate the rebel forces in the city. Actually the U.S. immediate objective was to establish the safety zone referred to in the OAS resolution. Insofar as U.S. military forces at San Isidro were concerned, the immediate objective was to secure their position there and on the Ozama leading to it.

Strictly for his own information, Bennett was told that, subject to later developments, a second phase of the U.S. overall plan would be to establish a defensive line around the rebel area of the city so as to contain them there and thereby to give the junta forces an opportunity to rest and regroup and to establish authority over the balance of the city and the countryside.

Bennett was to point out to the junta the U.S. hopes that establishment of the international security zone (ISZ) would not be opposed by the rebel forces and that such a zone would considerably reduce the perimeter which the junta itself would be obliged to defend.[1]

The cable is not merely the first concrete statement of U.S. objectives. Its comment on the junta's change of attitude presumably does not refer to the change Bennett spoke of. Instead it appears State is one step back. With the entry of the first U.S. Marines, the junta forces virtually ceased to take any active role. State

[1] SecState to AmEmb, 301845Z April 1965, SECRET.

therefore concluded that the junta was now confidently expecting the U.S. to do its fighting for it. On the other hand, the other comments in the cable in regard to "rash action" seem to refer to the junta attitude discussed by Bennett. The opaqueness of the messages is illustrative of the general situation, especially as regards the junta. It may be that State's reference to the junta change of attitude concerned the possibility that the junta now expected the U.S. to support them in a general attack, however rash and ill-advised, on the rebel stronghold.

State's concern was that the junta would shatter itself in such a venture in the expectation of U.S. military aid. Bennett, on the other hand, seemed more concerned that the sudden newly reborn belligerence of the junta could prove politically embarrassing to the U.S. in its efforts to support a position based upon intervention in response to appeals for aid from the collapsing Dominican authorities.

If State's cable did indeed refer to the same junta change of attitude as did Bennett's, it must be presumed that he had earlier apprised them by phone of the contents of Benoit's letter. The operation of two independent nonmilitary communication links from the Embassy to Washington throughout this crisis makes it exceedingly difficult for the researcher to establish what information was available to the decision makers and to the operators at any given time.

To return to the thread of the story, the meeting between the U.S. military commanders and the junta took place at San Isidro. Present were Benoit, de los Santos of the Dominican Air Force and his Deputy Chief of Staff. For the Americans, there were York, Tompkins, Connett, the U.S. Air Force Attache, the G-3 of the 82nd Airborne and the Army major from the MILGROUP.

York's initial impression of the junta was of their total ineffectiveness. They seemed unwilling to assess their situation in reasonable terms and had only a sketchy knowledge of their resources and their disposition.

Tompkins presented Masterson's plan and after some discussion, Benoit agreed. A lengthy harangue then ensued as to the employment of the junta forces that would become available as a result of the deployment of the airborne troops to the bridge and the bridgehead, relieving the Dominicans. Benoit vehemently called for an attack on the rebel stronghold, which would also perhaps relieve the beseiged Fortaleza Ozama. Connett encouraged this idea until York took him aside and advised him against such a course. York bluntly told Benoit his Dominican forces were too weak and ineffectual to undertake offensive action, and that if they did so irrespective of his warning, U.S. forces would not support them.[1]

Apart from the fact that York had no authority to undertake offensive action which would have represented a fundamental departure from his original terms of reference, sketchy though they were, he did not feel at this point strong enough himself for such an enterprise. Hence, his earlier recommendation for four more BCTs.

York and Tompkins instead stressed the vital need for the junta forces to maintain the link between the incipient international security zone manned by the Marines in the west and the paratroop positions in the east. If this link were not maintained, there would be no connection between the two U. S. forces. It was apparently not intended that the junta troops maintain such a link indefinitely. Masterson had cabled CINCLANT at 1040 to say that the U. S. forces would shortly be moving out on their assigned tasks and that it was hoped the junta forces could be persuaded to patrol a line connecting the northern flanks of the two U. S. lines. However, Masterson, added that "if and when reinforcements

[1] Interview, Hq 82nd Abn Div, Santo Domingo, 11 August 1965. Also, CG 82nd Abn Div, Fort Benning, 8 September 1965.

arrived, the encirclement would be completed with U.S. forces and the noose tightened."[1]

After considerable argument, York and Tompkins finally obtained what they thought was a junta agreement to follow their plan. However, when during that day the Marines and paratroops had moved to their assigned positions and consolidated, the junta forces, instead of pushing on west across the city to form the link, withdrew east through the American forces back to San Isidro.[2] Only the small group holding the National Palace held their ground.

Militarily, the junta forces were then out of the picture completely until 14 May.

F. MULTILATERAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

During the week, as the U.S. was drawn step by step into an even greater commitment, political efforts to halt the crisis also gained momentum. International interest, especially Latin American, was apparent from the very first, since U.S. actions raised memories of earlier American methods in the Caribbean. The approbation of Latin American embassies in Santo Domingo was not generally reflected by their home governments. Desire to stop bloodshed and violence generally was also manifest. The Papal Nuncio in Santo Domingo, for example, as Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, had spoken for the foreign diplomatic community on Sunday, the 26th, in asking the military chiefs to halt the air attacks.

On the 27th, the U.S. had first raised the situation with the Peace Commission of the OAS in Washington. The next day the full OAS Council had met for a U.S. report on the evacuation and on the darkening scene in Santo Domingo. On the 29th, the U.S. reported the initial Marine landing, and both in expectation of criticism and to develop a multilateral action, special U.S. emissaries were sent to visit major Latin American capitals to explain the U.S. actions and to encourage a joint OAS action. The U.S. described the threat of a leftist takeover, but mainly relied upon the humanitarian aspects of the intervention as its defense.

[1] CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 301440Z April 1965, SECRET.
[2] CJTF 122, Report.

Many of the Latin delegates expressed concern over the legality and appropriateness of the U.S. action, and press reactions throughout Latin America were generally unfavorable. The burden of the criticism was that the U.S. should not have acted unilaterally, but should have at least informed the OAS of its intentions. The principle of non-intervention on a unilateral basis by one American nation in the affairs of another was the key issue.

The Council, seeking impartial information, sent a message to the Papal Nuncio in Santo Domingo, requesting a report on the crisis and on the chances for arranging a cease-fire.

During the 29th, the OAS voted to call a special meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Americas for 1 May, with only Uruguay opposing the vote. At this session, the U.S. Ambassador to the OAS, Ellsworth Bunker, stated that the U.S. would transfer its responsibilities to the OAS at the earliest possible moment. He proposed that the Council call on all sides to reach a cease-fire and to establish a neutral zone for refugees around the embassy area. The Council voted at 2200 on the 29th, with four abstentions, to approve such a resolution. The abstentions were based on the questionable legality of the resolution since the Council had only hours earlier already voted to refer the Dominican crisis to a special "meeting of consultation" of the Foreign Ministers.

On the 30th, the Council received a report from the Papal Nuncio in Santo Domingo which suggested that both sides might be agreeable to a cease-fire. The Council went into secret session and voted to send Jose A. Mora, the Secretary-General of the OAS, on a peace-seeking mission to Santo Domingo. A special peace committee was also voted, composed of representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, and Panama. Its mandate called for fact finding, conciliation, and mediation roles. The committee was to offer its good offices to both sides.

As events turned out, the two objectives of the OAS had to be obtained separately rather than concurrently, so that political activity in the period 30 April - 2 May divided into two phases. First the cease-fire was achieved, to be followed by negotiations for the establishment of the ISZ.

The lead in seeking a cease-fire was taken by the Papal Nuncio.

[redacted] Nevertheless, he made progress. State cabled Bennett during the morning that they had just been informed by Mora that the Nuncio had the agreement of Benoit, Bosch, and Molina Urena for a cease-fire, a guarantee of personal safety of all individuals, and a commission of the OAS to arbitrate.

[redacted] Bennett was therefore directed to contact Wessin and other key leaders in the junta, including especially those now at San Isidro, and to inform them of the firm U.S. determination to prevent a Communist takeover and of the general U.S. strategy of building up the junta as the only organized group in the country. Once the junta leaders were fully informed of the U.S. position and it had been made clear that we did not know and would not necessarily support all the suggestions the Nuncio might make, Bennett should make a helicopter available to the Nuncio. The U.S. did not wish to be put in a position of impeding the Nuncio's efforts to carry out the OAS request.[1]

[1] SecState to AmEmb, 301315Z April 1965, SECRET.

Mention should be made here of the curious role Juan Bosch had been playing during the previous six days. While ostensibly the revolt had been undertaken in his name, his conduct had been strangely ambivalent. He displayed no real leadership. It had been expected that he would attempt to return to Santo Domingo from Puerto Rico, but the U.S. had privately prevented any aircraft departure. Furthermore, he had apparently been unable to get any guarantee that he would be allowed to land at either San Isidro or at the international airport. He had therefore remained in San Juan, surrounded by newsmen, and delivering occasional statements. Yet it seemed quite clear that he was not in control of events on the rebel side.

Nevertheless, he was the titular leader of the rebel cause and so was approached on the cease-fire effort. It had been Bosch who had insisted upon an OAS presence in Santo Domingo before any cease-fire could be accepted by the rebels.

State cabled Bennett at 1235 that it had just learned that Bosch would shortly make a radio appeal to the rebels to accept a cease-fire. The Ambassador was instructed to inform the junta, if Bosch actually did speak, that this was consistent with U.S. policy and to urge them to make a similar appeal. The position was hedged, however, by a request to Bennett to ask Masterson to send his best qualified staff officer to junta headquarters to raise morale, to act as adviser, and to arrange for any supplies that they might need. This last included adequate communications between the task force and junta headquarters as soon as possible.[1]

[1] SecState to AmEmb, 301635Z April 1965, SECRET.

On receipt of this message in the NMCC, the JCS instructed Masterson to supplement the Ambassador's efforts and to urge Wessin to agree. It suggested Masterson recommend to Wessin that he boast of his strength while agreeing. The Ambassador was to be told of this message and of Masterson's actions.[1]

Masterson assigned York to represent him in the negotiations with Wessin, since he did not wish to leave his command post. Apparently the conference at San Isidro was lengthy. At about the time the cease-fire instrument was actually being signed, the CJCS called Masterson to ask about progress, and mentioned that information reaching him indicated that Wessin was "being difficult and will not agree because he's getting help." The Admiral said he had sent Tompkin out of San Isidro to assist York in presenting the views of both Masterson and the JCS.

The cease-fire agreement was finally signed at San Isidro by representatives of the Dominican Army, Navy, and Air Force; the PRD, the U.S. Ambassador, the Papal Nuncio (for the rebels); and General York for Admiral Masterson.[2] Colonel Caamano, now the key rebel leader, did not sign initially but it was expected that he would do so the next day.

The cease-fire was signed at 1730, to take effect an hour later. Bennett, commenting on the truce, said that the junta leaders were not optimistic over practical results, inasmuch as the rebels had repeatedly over the last week tried to exploit any truce to strengthen their own position.[3]

Nevertheless, U.S. Army and Marine Corps commanders were informed that the U.S. would adhere to the letter and the spirit of the cease-fire.

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[1] JCS to CINCLANT, 301712Z April 1965, TOP SECRET.

[2] CJTF 122, Report.

[3] AmEmb to SecState, 010230Z May 1965, SECRET.
There was considerable confusion over just when the cease-fire would take effect, several different times reaching Washington. A meeting of the decision makers had been scheduled at the White House to discuss implications, but this was cancelled around 1800 when no news had come from Santo Domingo that the cease-fire had actually come into effect.

VIII. THE U.S. INCREASES ITS COMMITMENT

The day of the 30th in Santo Domingo opened with the airborne landings and closed with the paratroopers and Marines in their appointed planned positions. On the political side, the cease-fire was achieved. In Washington, military activity concentrated on plans to reinforce the units in the Dominican Republic, while political activity centered upon assessments and reassessments as to whether more or less reinforcements really should be sent.

[redacted]

A Marine and Army security force was around the Embassy. A company from the airborne units has been ordered by the JCS into the Marine area, in order to identify the airborne troops with the Marine mission of protecting lives and with the creation of an ISZ, but only a platoon had been sent.[1] The Marines were patrolling by night along a rectangular perimeter, from the Hotel to the sea, along the sea to a point just below the Embassy, north past the Embassy and just slightly east of it, and then westward to the Hotel again, along a line bounded by the abandoned Andrews Airfield.

[redacted]

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[1] JCS to CINCLANT, 301703Z Apr 1965, TOP SECRET.

Around midnight of the 30th Masterson sent a sitrep to CINCLANT, giving the above details and reporting that relief of the "loyal" forces holding the bridghead at the western end of the bridge had been completed. He reported that the junta had agreed to occupy a cordon area from above the link-up point to the projected location of the loyalist link-up with the Marines. However, in the light of the reported junta strength of 1000-odd men and in view of their morale and physical condition, he doubted any immediate offensive action by the junta. Opposing them, the rebels were estimated to number from 5000 to 50,000--a rather extreme variation.

Masterson's assessment was that the junta faced a determined enemy who was willing to fight, "using the techniques of the trained guerrillas." The junta forces appeared to be without strong leadership, especially at the top echelon, and the necessity for operation through a junta delayed decision making. Masterson's initial impression of complete demoralization had been brightened by a marked improvement in junta morale in consequence of the American presence. However, even if the will existed, the capability for launching an effective offensive was dubious. The Admiral believed that the best that could be hoped for from them under the current situation would be to fill the portion of the proposed cordon with U.S. forces on either flank. It was for this reason that he had requested the additional four battalions.

The Admiral stressed that if the enemy were to be subdued, it would have to be done almost entirely by U.S. forces. He realized, however, having said it, that this was beyond the present terms of reference.

Finally, he suggested that since the current and planned disposition of airborne forces did not appear on the surface to justify the stated mission of protecting lives by the establishment of the ISZ,

the 82nd Airborne dispositions should be justified on the need to protect the airfield.[1]

A. MILITARY ACTIVITIES DURING THE 30TH

While the above paragraphs describe the situation at the end of the 30th, the process of reaching that status was marked by frantic activity and not a little confusion. This was due in large part to the continuing information lag, to an on-scene command structure that hourly showed itself to be increasingly inadequate, and to extraordinary uncertainty at all levels as to just what the current and the next objectives would be.

[redacted]

The Vice J-3 alerted CINCLANT to this problem and suggested that he set up a system of priorities. Troops with minimum essential equipment were to take priority over anything else. Since a Presidential

[1]CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 010545Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2]JCS 1095 to CINCLANT 301310Z Apr 1965, SECRET.

decision to send in the four additional BCTs would be made, in all probability, by noon, it had become a matter of urgency to prevent any airlift jam before it began or to remedy it if one currently existed.

The Vice J-3 pursued the issue with TAC in a series of phone calls over the next several hours, making it quite clear that: (1) when the order to go was received for the four BCTs, they must reach the island in the shortest possible time; (2) the mission required only minimum essential equipment; and (3) General York was satisfied that he already had received enough heavy equipment. The problem lay not in TAC but with the XVIIIth Airborne Corps which seemed uncertain of what it wanted to have airlifted. TAC's major concern was whether additional airlift resources should be called in and how much. The Vice J-3 kept insisting that a plan be developed which would indicate a reasonable trade-off among the three key factors of time, aircraft availability, and type of load. He did not wish to halt operations worldwide when he was pretty certain the job could be done with currently assigned aircraft operated under a strict system of priorities.

The CJCS took a hand in the problem at 1116, calling direct to XVIIIth Corps where he spoke with the Chief of Staff. Corps HQ had not yet been informed by CINCLANT of York's request of hours before for the four additional battalions with minimum essential equipment.

[1]EA tapes, 30 Apr 1965.

However, the J-3 informed him that the CJCS wished to raise the matter of troop reinforcements on an incremental basis in the discussions with political authorities, which were to take place shortly.

B. A KEY PRESIDENTIAL MEETING

From the very start the President was personally involved in the Dominican crisis. He made three television addresses on the crisis, the first on Wednesday night after the initial Marine landing, another on Friday after the first airborne landing, and again on Sunday night. The decision makers, the President, the SecState, the SecDef, Deputy SecDef, the UnderSecState, and the CJCS, the Presidential Special Assistant for International Security Affairs, and the Director of Central Intelligence, had met almost continuously all Thursday late into the night, and met again Friday morning.

The intelligence picture at this time as presented to the President is not known. Within Santo Domingo things were quieter by Friday morning. There had been no attacks on U.S. forces and only minor sniping at the Marines. No U.S. casualties had yet been suffered, although this was expected to change when the Marines and paratroopers moved out to occupy their assigned positions. Diplomatic activity was under way to try to ease the situation.

Nevertheless, during the late morning, the President decided to reinforce massively the U.S. commitment if it should be necessary. The President apparently said that he wanted the military men to figure out what was required to take and hold the island and the rest of the decision group to figure out what it takes to make it look pretty. The quote is from a second party. Another paraphase of the directive was that if we have to, we'll take and hold that and the military job is to tell me how to do it.

The interpretation drawn from this by the Joint Staff and transmitted by them to the pertinent subordinate headquarters was expressed by the Vice J-3 in a call immediately after the White House meeting ended to TAC. He explained that he was coming direct to them, rather than through LANT because of the apparent slowness of LANT in transmitting information downward as well as upward. Everything that was in the OPLAN was to go as fast as it could be delivered there with minimum essential equipment, followed by another airborne division. Consequently, the discussions earlier that morning and the Vice J-3's efforts to keep the airlift requirements within the original budget were cancelled and TAC would have to use whatever assets it could muster. However, the President wanted firm timing on the lift of the additional battalions and these had top priority.

[redacted]

Deputy CINCLANT suggested that the whole naval task force, apart from the MEB, might not be needed, and J-3 left that to his discretion. He did suggest LANT might wish to retain a capability of establishing a cordon, especially against some Cuban interference or infiltration. Deputy CINCLANT mentioned that the Marine airlift battalion (1/6 Marines) was standing by at Camp Lejeune, following Masterson's unofficial desire to see the rest of the MEB on the scene.

[redacted]

until this conversation, the Joint Staff had been unaware of the alerted Marine airlift battalion, although it had been on twelve-hour alert for more than a day.[1]

At 1159 the JCS formally directed CINCLANT to place all forces committed to OPLAN 310/2-65 in Defcon 3,[2] and followed up shortly thereafter with an order to make maximum preparation for the immediate launch of the four BCTs with minimum essential equipment. The order emphasized that the force must move with minimum delay upon receipt of the movement execute. However, the order repeated that this was not an execute message.[3]

It seemed to prove unusually difficult to get across to the XVIIIth Airborne Corps and to the 82nd that the heavy equipment tail could be dispensed with, since at 1200 the Vice J-3 learned from TAC that loading of those 80 extra loads was being continued. He urged extraordinary measures be taken to establish proper priorities in accord with the situation and with the several JCS orders. There seemed to be an infuriating slowness of communication among the pertinent subordinate headquarters, especially LANT, STRIKE, and TAC.

Eleven hours later the matter of heavy equipment was still of concern to the Joint Staff. Even the efforts of the Army Chief of Staff and the Commanding General CONARC did not suffice to reduce the outflow of heavy equipment from Bragg under the direction of XVIIIth Airborne Corps. It was generally felt at top command levels that

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[1] EA tapes, 30 Apr 1965.
[2] JCS 1112 to CINCLANT, 301559Z Apr 1965, SECRET.
[3] JCS 113 to CINCLANT, 301602Z Apr 1965, SECRET.
[4] JCS 1116 to CINCLANT, 301628Z Apr 1965, SECRET.

they were overdoing it," but the Corps apparently was under the impression that it was responding to a call from York. In view of this high motivation, the flow continued, despite the efforts to halt it.

[redacted] Of the eleven C-130s needed, LANT already had nine. The J-3 suggested further that the helicopters which LANT had desired to load aboard an LPH and get under way should not go in a half empty ship, and told CINCLANT that he had the authority to load troops if he chose. CINCLANT had been reluctant to commence marshalling the shipping for the MEB because it would inevitably have stirred press comment. The J-3, however, indicated that the best estimates available to the Joint Staff pointed to the need for both airborne divisions plus the full MEB, and perhaps more, to do the job the President had directed. The Joint Staff felt it would be best to send in a huge preponderance of force to "clean up the situation quickly" before a mounting crescendo of criticism grew and before the rebels got themselves more firmly fortified physically and spiritually.[1]

On checking both these points with the CJCS (the airlift battalion and marshalling of amphibious lift), the J-3 was advised to hold up CINCLANT action until the afternoon meeting at the White House. At 1300 CINCLANT was informed by the Vice J-3 that the SecDef had ordered a hold on the airlift Marine battalion but authorized the helicopter movement.[2]

These repeated calls which went over again and again the same subjects indicate the state of uncertainty which prevailed at the several military headquarters during the afternoon of the 30th. This flowed in large part from the Presidential decision of the morning

[1] CINCSTRIKE reported to the JCS that the 101st Abn Div, the remainder of the 82nd, and the HQ XVIIIth Abn Corps attained Defcon 3 at 0300Z on the 1st, and were passed under the operational control of CINCLANT at 0630Z.

[2] EA tapes, 20 Apr 1965.

with its inherent ambiguity. While the decision was interpreted by the military as representing a green light for preparation of a massive deployment, mounting political inhibitions and constraints acted as a brake. There was apparently divided opinion among the decision makers on the wisdom and necessity of a massive deployment. Presumably doubts had already begun to appear. Furthermore, the Presidential decision was followed shortly by the cease-fire negotiations which tended to change the entire picture significantly.

It should be mentioned that the Joint Chiefs themselves met during Friday afternoon for the first formal meeting since the crisis began (excluding the meeting with the SecDef on Monday).

C. A CHANGE IN THE COMMAND STRUCTURE

[redacted]

The position of Vice Admiral Masterson as CJTF 122 had become blurred. The imminent expansion of the Dominican force outmoded JTF 122 in regard to command arrangements, as well as to force size. Furthermore, a tone of increasing impatience is evident in phone calls and messages from the command authorities over the repeated inability to get information moving from and through the JTF headquarters. The difficulty had become very apparent by Friday. Masterson's position on a ship for a headquarters prevented him from keeping a tight control of events. The system of liaison officers at San Isidro and the Embassy had worked after a fashion but would

clearly become inadequate. His staff and facilities were simply too small.

In fact, once General York were to move his CP from San Isidro to the Embassy, as he had been instructed to do, CJTF 122 would become a redundant command layer, since York and the Ambassador could go directly to Washington without first having to get to Masterson's ship in order to use his communications with Washington.[1]

Furthermore, and this is a key factor, Masterson had not been able to involve himself in the political-military teamwork which was so critical. The presence of the senior American military commander was required in continuous collaboration with the senior American diplomatic representative.

The command changes were made at the Friday morning White House meeting, the President designating Lieutenant General Bruce Palmer to take command of all the forces ashore. General Palmer was then DCSOPS, DA, and was scheduled to take over as commander of the XVIIIth Airborne Corps on 17 May.[2] At 1130 Palmer, who was in Washington, was given his instructions by the CJCS. He was to proceed to Fort Bragg, the Corps HQ, at once and there to pick up an austere headquarters with communications support from the Corps (a total of 112 men), and thence to go as soon as possible to Santo Domingo.

His announced mission was to save U.S. lives. His unstated mission was to prevent the Dominican Republic from going Communist. The President had stated that he would not allow another Cuba, and Palmer was to take all necessary measures required to accomplish this mission. He would be given sufficient forces to do the job.

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[1] About 2100Z Masterson reported that York was unable to move his CP next to the Embassy at the moment. Since there had been firing near the Embassy, it apparently was not yet considered fully secure. York intended to send his deputy in first with the advance echelon of the HQ.

[2] It is interesting to recall that Admiral Smith, CINCLANT, had retired on the 30th, and was replaced by Admiral Moorer. Thus two key commanders were new to their jobs.

Lastly, he was to get close to Ambassador Bennett and coordinate all actions with him.[1]

There was some ambiguity in his appointment and several hours later it was still unclear in senior military circles, especially in the Army, whether Palmer would command only the ground element or would be the overall military commander.

Palmer arrived in the early morning hours of Saturday, the 1st, at San Isidro and joined General York. He first reported to the JCS at 0300, that he would take command of all ground forces as soon as possible and would also establish contact with the Ambassador. He had learned that only two battalions of the 82nd were on the ground and that the second pair had been withheld. In view of the mission given him by the CJCS, he fully agreed with York and requested that movement of the 82nd continue.[2]

It is interesting to note that in this first message, Palmer refers only to command of ground forces. Palmer called the NMCC direct at 0445 after his arrival and briefing at San Isidro. In regard to the command issue, he said he was immediately assuming command of the paratroops only, since his available communications to the Marines across the city were inadequate to exercise control. He had six C-130 loads of headquarters equipment with him.

The DDO expressed surprise at the problem of Palmer's communications, since Masterson had earlier indicated that he had good communications to both the Marines and to San Isidro.

Palmer also requested clarification of the command arrangements, and asked if the CJCS had wanted him to take command of the entire U.S. military operation and whether or not CJTF 122 would phase out. The DDO pointed out that CINCLANT would have to decide. They had

[1]USCOMDOMREP, Stability Operations in the DR, June 1965, draft, SECRET.
[2]General Palmer to JCS, 010720Z May 1965, SECRET.

earlier that night just designated York as CTF 120 with the Marines under him, and presumably Palmer would be assigned this post the next day.

Palmer was briefed at San Isidro on the situation as it was seen by the American military command on the scene. The rebels had soundly defeated the junta forces which would probably have been destroyed had the U.S. not intervened. The withdrawal of the junta forces to San Isidro left only the small group holding the National Palace still actively resisting the rebels. The junta forces had not fought hard or well and Wessin had done little at all as a leader.[1]

In regard to the cease-fire, Palmer had an interesting comment. He stated that since General York had not signed the cease-fire, he told York that he viewed the situation as a most dangerous one, and that he, Palmer, did not therefore recognize any cease-fire at that time. It will be recalled that Masterson, in his report, specifically includes York among the signers.

In the phone call to the NMCC at 0445, Palmer revealed an interesting reaction to his first exposure to the situation. He told the DDO that he desperately needed clarification of his mission. The DDO replied that the main hopes in Washington at the moment were on the cease-fire, although there were reports through the night of continuing firing, and that Palmer should not take any action based on the operational concept as he, the DDO, knew it. The issue would be clarified the next day, and so Palmer was not to take any offensive action that would tend to negate the achievement of the cease-fire. Palmer wanted to know his mission after the cease-fire. Would he go house to house disarming the rebels? The DDO emphasized that Palmer's

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mission was to contain by the cordon and not to take any offensive action.

Here was brought forth, for the first time, the contradictory trends in U.S. policy of the moment. On the one hand, Palmer had been told to prevent another Cuba; on the other, a cease-fire had been signed which, fragile though it was, suddenly seemed to become central in American policy. The sudden emergence of conflicting military and political objectives must have been particularly confusing to Palmer. Arriving in the full expectation, shared by all the other American officials, political and military, on the scene, that U.S. forces would be used to smother the rebels, he now found his operations rigidly circumscribed. The situation in Santo Domingo was a far cry from the one he had anticipated in view of the mission he had been given.

Following his briefing at San Isidro, Palmer went by helicopter to the Embassy, landing at the old Trujillo palace next door, which eventually was to become his HQ. There was a fire fight in progress along the street just east of the Embassy, and Palmer and party came under fire from a school north of their landing area as they climbed the high fence between the old palace and the Embassy. Palmer's first impression of the Embassy was of "complete disorganization bordering on utter confusion."

Here he soon learned that Ambassador Martin, the special Presidential envoy, had just concluded negotiations for the formal establishment of an ISZ.

D. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ZONE

It will be recalled that the political activities during the day of the 30th were divided into two phases; the first aimed to achieving a cease-fire, the second to negotiate the ISZ as authorized by the OAS. This latter involved acceptance by the rebels of formal occupation by U.S. troops of a major piece of the city. The establishment of the ISZ was an unusually confusing episode in a very confusing story.

Although an ISZ had been under discussion for several days, a definite plan had not yet been decided upon. Masterson told the DDO at the NMCC at 1544 that they were working very hard trying to find a workable plan, and that such an ISZ would require, in the absence of a cease-fire, a very considerable force. (This call came before the cease-fire agreement had been signed, but it would seem that the JTF staff had not undertaken to develop plans covering both cease-fire and no-cease-fire cases.) His Deputy, General Tompkins, specifically was working on the plan. Because of York's presence at San Isidro, Masterson said he would probably not be able to get York's approval prior to sending the proposed ISZ plan to Washington. When asked by the DDO if he had discussed the matter with the Ambassador, the Admiral replied that the matter had been discussed in general terms with Bennett that morning. Masterson said the Ambassador "had no definite feelings about it -- would like to have a zone established. We'll have no difficulty in convincing him there. However, we believe the zone will have to be smaller than is required to include all the embassies."[1]

At about the same time as the above phone call, ex-Ambassador John Bartlow Martin arrived at San Isidro and was moved by helicopter to the Embassy. Here he personally took over the task of representing the U.S. in negotiations with the rebels. Martin was a journalist and writer who had been pressed into service by President Kennedy and named Ambassador in Santo Domingo after the establishment of the Council of State Government in 1962. Martin had been popular with and respected by Dominicans of virtually all political groups. He had retired to private life but had responded to the President's request at midnight Thursday that he go to Santo Domingo in an effort to ease the situation. It is difficult to see just what could have been expected of him, since the U.S. position on the crisis by this time seemed to admit of no compromise. Martin was a well-known

[1] EA tapes, 1 May 1965.

liberal and it is believed that initially he was sympathetic to the better aspirations of the rebels. His presence was also probably indicative of a recognition that Bennett's standing with the rebels had been so impaired that some other official was needed to represent the U.S. in any negotiations, a role which, for obvious reasons, the U.S. military commander could not fulfill.

Martin began his meetings with the rebels after the cease-fire agreement had been signed Friday night. At 2300 on the 30th Secretary General Mora of the OAS arrived and presumably joined the discussions which went on through the night and into the morning.

At this juncture a serious failure of military-political coordination occurred. Inexplicably Martin was either not given the outline plan of Masterson's staff for the ISZ or chose to disregard it. It may well be that this plan still had not yet been fully developed. Possibly the separation of the military and the political commands prevented Martin from being thoroughly briefed by representatives of JTF 122. Consequently, on Palmer's arrival at the Embassy, he found that Martin had agreed to the establishment of an ISZ which put the U.S. Embassy on its very front line and, Berlin fashion, could only be reached from the sea over the beach or by helicopter, as it contained no airfield. There was no secure overland access to the ISZ from San Isidro to the east. The western boundary, which was to have included the Feria area, was drawn to include only the polo field and the Embajador Hotel. The Marine landing area adjacent to Haina, Red Beach, lay to the west beyond the boundary.[1]

Shortly after noon on the 1st, a meeting was held at San Isidro which included Bennett, Mora, junta representatives, York and Tompkins for Masterson. Curiously Palmer was not present and no reason has been ascertained for his absence. General Tompkins has left a vivid description of the meeting which bears verbatim repetition:

[1]Interview, USCOMDOMREP, Santo Domingo, 9 August 1965.

"Ambassador Martin was present and had just returned from a meeting with the rebel chief. The meeting had apparently ended about noon. Ambassador Martin had an Esso road map of the city. Drawn on the map in red was the outline of the ISZ described in CJTF 020820Z. Ambassador Martin had negotiated with the rebels on the basis that the western area shown on the map represented the International Safety Zone and that there would be no advance beyond these boundaries.

"The Zone drawn on the Ambassador's map did not conform to our recommendation to the JCS.

"I [General Tompkins] asked Ambassador Bennett and Martin as to when the ISZ had been established, who had approved it, and why was CJTF 122 not informed as to the fact and the prohibition of any movement beyond the limits of the Zone. Ambassador Martin disclaimed any responsibility. I pointed out to the Ambassador that no military man would enclose the polo field area in such a restrictive manner.

"I stated in the strongest possible polite language that to have the military committed unilaterally to new boundaries and rules, and then fail to tell the military, was an inexcusable piece of madness and one to which I took most violent exception. I requested repeatedly as to who had marked the Esso map which neither I nor York had seen before. Ambassador Bennett admitted that all our discussions with the junta were based on the 1:12,500 map carried by General Tompkins. Ambassador Bennett did not seem to be able to remember who marked the Esso map which he had furnished Ambassador Martin for the latter's discussions with the rebels on 1 May.

"Ambassador Martin asked if I wanted him to go back and negotiate the ISZ on the basis of the one shown on my map. I told him that to do so would be unnecessary, politically unwise, that we could accommodate ourselves to the agreement he had reached on the ISZ and that I would take the responsibility of committing CJTF 122. The meeting ended."[1]

[1]CJTF 122, Report. Also interview with General Tompkins, CINCLANT, 10 July 1965.

It would appear that the person responsible for the ISZ which Martin negotiated was the MILGROUP Chief, who was the senior military man located at the Embassy. He, at the request of the Ambassador, had hastily sketched on the Esso map what either he understood to be or assumed would be Masterson's concept. This was all done, apparently, in a great hurry as Martin dashed off to meet with the rebels.[1]

What is quite apparent is that Masterson had not managed to make clear to the people in the Embassy just what he intended to do. Had he been present on the spot or had York or Tompkins been, it is not likely the error would have been made. On the other hand, there are indications that Martin came onto the scene somewhat impatiently eager to solve the situation, and may, in consequence, have chosen to disregard what he knew the U.S. military proposed.

E. THE OVERNIGHT PAUSE

After the meeting of the NCA Friday morning at which the President made his decision to "take and hold" the island, there was no full formal meeting until the next morning. The evening session to discuss the implications of the cease-fire had been cancelled when news of the signing of the cease-fire did not arrive in time. The next session was scheduled for 0830 on Saturday, so that the twelve-hour pause gave time for a general squaring away of the many matters which had come up in the previous two hectic days. As an indication, phone conversations were much reduced in volume among the principals during these hours.

What was of special significance about this pause was that it appeared to give time to perfect to a fine degree the readiness status of the various forces which had been alerted during the afternoon of the 30th. The JCS had notified CINCLANT during the evening that the National Command Authorities would not meet until the following morning, and that, as a result, no decision concerning the deployment of

[1] Interview, USCOMDOMREP, Santo Domingo, 11 August 1965.

alerted forces was expected, barring an unforeseen emergency, until 0900 the next day.[1] All command levels were grateful for the time and the Washington decision makers were reassured that it would be usefully employed.

However, there were limitations to what could be done by the military in perfecting these preparations, since the political authorities were keeping a very tight rein on the whole operation, both as far as additional U.S. deployments were concerned as well as operations by U.S. forces in Santo Domingo.

An example of the latter type of control occurred when at 1655 on the 30th, the Marines reported that they were taking casualties from fire from the area north and east of the Embassy. They requested permission to return fire with the 106mm recoilless rifle and 3.5-inch rockets. Permission was granted by JTF 122 to use the 3.5 rockets only.[2]

A day later, a similar control on weapons usage was sent to Masterson, instructing him "not to use tear gas except when necessary in self defense without prior clearance from Washington."[3] (The quaint ambiguity of the message may have been deliberately intended)

In the matter of additional troop deployments, it had been made perfectly clear, as one participant put it, that "the President was approving everybody involved." Consequently, it was with some alarm that the Joint Staff received an indication at 1800 Friday night that some of the forces alerted that noon were already moving. A check with CINCLANT found no confirmation of the rumor at that headquarters, and the Vice J-3 reiterated that no execute had yet been given.[4]

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[1] JCS 1205 to CINCLANT, 010026Z Apr 1965, SECRET.
[2] CJTF 122, Report.
[3] EA tapes, 1 May 1965.
[4] EA tapes.

However at 2138 the Deputy CINCLANT called the DDO to say that they had heard through usual staff channels that part of the third BCT really was already airborne. They had called CONARC about the reports and had been told that CONARC had learned through a liaison officer that the CJCS had authorized General York to call for anything else he wanted, and that York had indeed asked for more. More troops, therefore, had been moved out and were airborne. CINCLANT asked for a clarification from Washington, repeating that their understanding had been that no execute had been given for anything. As to any private authorization, they had heard nothing of this earlier.

The Vice J-3 immediately called Admiral Wylie who read him excerpts from the pertinent XVIIIth Airborne Corps message, calling for aircraft departures at fifteen-minute intervals over a period of fifty-seven hours. Neither Wylie nor the Vice J-3 was familiar with the message format and even conjectured that it might be a planning message. However, Wylie was informed at this point that telephone confirmation had been received at a staff level, that the initial elements of 1/505 Airborne Infantry had been launched, the basis being the Wheeler-York agreement.

The Vice J-3 got the CJCS into the conversation and the Chairman's first response to the information was that the XVIIIth Airborne Corps had been authorized to move its headquarters and perhaps this deployment had created the confusion. The DDO interrupted with word that the Army had the same information -- a battalion was moving. The Chairman's reaction was as violent as that of Wylie and the Vice J-3. The battalion must be turned around at once and put on the ground. Furthermore, there was no private agreement between the Chairman and General York.

An hour and a half later the problem seemed to have been resolved. It had been ascertained that the battalions were not moving, but rather only the tail of the first two BCTs. The Vice J-3 had gone to TAC to get this information, but when he relayed it to CINCLANT, Wylie

told him that the CINCLANT liaison officer at Fort Bragg, XVIIIth Airborne Corps HQ, stuck to the original report of troops moving. Apparently there were some troops from alerted units going with the authorized Power Pack I tail. The Vice J-3 called Bragg and spoke with the Deputy Division Commander of the 82nd, Brigadier General Linville, who confirmed that indeed the 2/505 was en route. The Vice J-3 ordered them stopped immediately and turned around, explaining that the political authorities were keeping a rigid check on deployments. Linville reported fifteen to twenty aircraft were southbound with the battalion.

It became clear during the conversation that the "pause" as result of the cease-fire, coming on the heels of the drastic Presidential decision of the morning had actually had a disruptive effect on military preparations. In the first place, information on the pause was slow to reach lower command levels. Secondly, the engine, put into high gear for several hours, could not be automatically slowed down. Linville pointed out that he was still operating under the guidance from General Bowen, the CG XVIIIth Airborne Corps who that morning had told them to expect not only Power Pack II but Power Pack III to go in at once. Furthermore, when General Palmer had passed through Fort Bragg en route from Washington to Santo Domingo during the afternoon, there had been no doubt in his mind either as to immediacy of the additional deployments.

Linville had later been told by Admiral Needham at CINCLANT to get York the support he needed, and this presumably was interpreted as meaning troops. Needham had promised to get the 82nd a message on this but it had never arrived. Nevertheless, the 82nd and XVIIIth Airborne Corps had been information addressees on the JCS directive to CINCLANT ordering the additional units alerted, but this message was explicitly labeled as "not an execute message."

The Vice J-3 had directed that the unauthorized aircraft either be brought back to Bragg, put into Homestead or McDill AFB in Florida, or into Ramey, depending on their location when reached.

It was then reported that the "contaminated people," as they were referred to, had really been unloaded at Ramey and kept there, while the aircraft continued on with their support equipment and Power Pack I tail to San Isidro. However at 0457 on the 1st it was definitely reported that they were indeed at San Isidro.[1]

The episode was interesting on several scores. In the first place, the urgency with which senior commanders in the Joint Staff and CINCLANT responded when the issue arose was clearly indicative of the military awareness of the political constraints operative at the moment and of their rigid adherence to those constraints.

The episode further demonstrated the usefulness to the Joint Staff of being able to reach down several command levels to help resolve the issue. The willingness of the Joint Staff to go directly to TAC or the XVIIIth Airborne Corps materially expedited the clarification of the problem. All parties involved tended to agree that had CINCAFLANT and CINCARLANT been activated for Dominican operations, such misunderstandings could have largely been avoided. Accordingly, the JCS suggested to CINCLANT that he activate AFLANT, ARLANT, and LANTFLT for the preparation, control, and movement to the Dominican Republic of forces designated.[2] CINCLANT in turn requested CONARC and COMTAC to activate ARLANT and AFLANT immediately.[3]

[1] EA tapes, 1 May 1965.
[2] JCS 1216 to CINCLANT, 011550Z May 1965, SECRET.
[3] CINCLANT to CONARC and COMTAC, 011554Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

Another pertinent observation is that of the slowness of communications from the top level down to lower subordinate headquarters, in this case from the decision makers to the 82nd. The decision to pause apparently did not filter down quickly enough in all its implications. Associated with this point is the demonstration in the incident of the potential confusion inherent in verbal orders or understandings. The confusion created led to an emotional environment in which clearly marked JCS directives were misread, in the zeal to support forces in the field.

Another illustration of the political restraint on troop deployments came in the incident of the LPH USS OKINAWA. It will be recalled that early on the 30th, at the request of CINCLANT, the JCS authorized the deployment of a Marine helicopter squadron from Morehead City, North Carolina, to Santo Domingo via the carrier OKINAWA. The ship was due to arrive to load the helicopters early on the 1st. CINCLANT and the Marine Corps were both in favor of loading an additional BLT aboard the OKINAWA, along with the helicopters, so that the ship would not sail virtually empty. They pressed throughout the night for authorization to load the troops, but the CJCS and others felt that to do so would violate the restriction on any movement of troops outside the country until so authorized. Certainly the suggestion was sensible, but the political restraints were at the moment dominant over what made military sense. Furthermore, the Marines themselves were concerned over domestic press reactions to the loading of Marines which would invariably have almost immediately become public information.

The position of the CJCS, however, was inflexible and, in fact, he was concerned over the delay imposed on the deployment of the helicopters by the efforts to load troops on the LPH as well.[1] Only after the White House decision group had met on Saturday and agreed on additional deployments was CINCLANT ordered to embark a BLT in the OKINAWA.[2]

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[1] EA tapes.

[2] JCS 1219 to CINCLANT, 011611Z May 1965, SECRET.

F. THE DECISION TO REINFORCE

Throughout the night of 30 April - 1 May during the pause, there was a critical need for hard data and sound estimates from the field, upon which the decision makers could base their deliberations in the 0830 Saturday meeting.

Two positions on the matter of troop deployments had already developed. The State Department had become cautious. It is difficult to ascertain how much support Bennett and Connett had in the Department in their original requests for intervention. At any rate, by this time concern had arisen in State over the scale of forces proposed for introduction into the island. There were 1580 Marines and 2362 paratroops already there, and State apparently felt that these, in view of the cease-fire, might well be adequate.

The CJCS, speaking for the military, was advocating major deployments on the theory that it was best to be prepared for anything and in line with the philosophy of not sending a boy to do a man's job. Palmer had requested two more battalions to fill the gap left by the withdrawal of the junta troops, with possibly two more battalions to come after that. The forces alerted for possible deployment were massive in comparison. Because of State opposition, the CJCS was attempting to get authorization on an incremental basis, hence his hesitation to move Marines aboard the OKINAWA.

The SecDef apparently was also reluctant to commit too much to the Dominican Republic. His hesitation may have been the consequence of a general growing awareness that U.S. forces were, in all probability, going to be on the island for some time. Accordingly, arrangements should be made in that light with a more orderly progression of deployments and support mechanisms in place of the emergency moves of the previous three days.

The J-3 commented in this vein to CINCLANT early Saturday morning in detailing what directions the CJCS wished LANT to follow, suggesting that LANT begin thinking in terms of a long tour of duty in Santo

Domingo and organize its logistics accordingly. Furthermore, LANT was to be prepared to support completely a possible OAS force.[1]

Bennett fully supported Palmer's request for more troops, and although the first message stating his belief in the need for more troops was not sent until noon on the 1st, it may be presumed he had earlier expressed his opinion via phone to State. His message stated that Palmer had submitted separate recommendations on the order of force levels required. Since there was a major disparity between what Palmer had requested and what the JCS were preparing to send, it would be interesting to know Bennett's reactions to the more massive deployment.[2]

The final decision on deployments would, of course, rest with the President, who, in the words of one of the principals, "was running the war out of his pocket."

In the matter of information, there was not enough to form a truly coherent picture of the situation. It was now a week since the revolt had begun and four days since the U.S. intervention had been initiated with the evacuation. Reports of sporadic firing seemed to indicate that the cease-fire was only imperfectly in effect. Furthermore, with Palmer now on the scene, Washington was really dealing with two separate commanders. Palmer, not yet organized in his headquarters and with inadequate communications, uncertain of his mission and even of his place in the command organization, could send only spotty information. On the other hand, Washington command authorities had experienced difficulty in getting information from Masterson as to his operations in Santo Domingo. He had been very slow in reporting the movement of the Marines and paratroops to their assigned lines, in informing Washington of his plans and of the state of his dealing with the junta. Further irritation developed when early that evening

[1] EA tapes.

[2] AmEmb to SecState, 011654Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

the press reported U.S. casualties. This was brought to the President's attention and he called the SecDef for further details, only to find that the SecDef knew nothing on the matter at all. This problem of information reaching the command authorities faster through press channels than through regular military reporting channels exacerbated the problem which had appeared earlier in the crisis.

This unsatisfactory situation led to the creation of a special task force within the NMCC to collect and collate all incoming information from all sources, for transmittal to the SecDef and the Joint Chiefs. The operation of this mechanism is described in an appendix to this study.

Information on what was going on in the rebel camp was even more sparse. There was no shortage of reports, but these were noted chiefly for their number and their inaccuracy.

The White House meeting at 0830 was held on schedule. After careful deliberation, it was decided to deploy part of the alerted forces. What was done in effect was to respond to Palmer's requested reinforcements rather than with the massive two-division-plus force which was being readied.

[1] This problem of press coverage seems endemic in crisis situations, since no press control mechanism exists except when a state of war is declared. The problem is treated in WSEG Report - Southeast Asia Reporting Systems - 2 May 1966, SECRET.

LANT was instructed that the first echelon of troops must not arrive at San Isidro prior to 1600, the reason being that an OAS meeting was scheduled for early afternoon and the JCS did not wish additional troop landings to occur before the meeting. In view of the flying time involved, however, it would not be possible to get troops to the island before the deadline anyway, but the point was considered of such significance that it was specifically included in the directive.

Finally, there was to be minimum publicity. The Vice J-3 emphasized two other points. The JCS were sending a message to LANT "assuming" that APLANT and ARLANT had been activated, rather than a specific directive to do so. Speed in this matter was important. Also, it was made very clear to LANT that the reason the JCS had adopted the system of phone alerts followed by formal messages was to expedite movement. Hence, LANT should immediately transmit such telephone alerts on down the full chain of command.[1]

The formal JCS execute messages went out an hour or so later--in regard to the 4th MEB at 1209, and in regard to the third and fourth BCTs, the three Marine airborne companies, and the 1600 deadline at 1212. This latter mentioned that there was no change in mission. A third message to CINCLANT directed that the fifth and sixth BCTs be prepared to load.[2]

After the formal messages had gone out, Admiral Wylie at CINCLANT called the NMCC for clarification on a point in relation to the preparation of the fifth and sixth BCTs.

[1]EA tapes, 1 May 1965.

[2]JCS 1218 to CINCLANT, 011609Z May 1965 SECRET. JCS 1220 to CINCLANT, 011612Z May 1965, SECRET. JCS 1221 to CINCLANT, 011621Z May 1965, SECRET.

[ ] The key element of the issue was the influence on timing which could result from the several interpretations possible of the JCS instructions. Not only was it a matter of men but of materiel which presumably, in a "prepare to load" situation, would slow a response considerably if it then had to be loaded upon receipt of the execute. The term "optimum posture" was also ambiguous, since it implied a fully loaded force.

The DDO checked with the Vice J-3 and notified CINCLANT that there had been no intention of preventing the airborne people from loading troops. The 82nd could determine what "optimum posture" was. Wylie said he would send his message to that effect.[1] However, this would seem merely to have sent the ambiguity on down. Furthermore, this conversation took place at 1343, two and a half hours after the verbal JCS directive to LANT and only now was the LANT directive going out to the 82nd at Fort Bragg.

The episode illustrated the danger inherent in the use of the oral alerting method as price for saving time.

As part of the deployments, the JCS also ordered LANT to include the Power Pack psychological warfare contingent called for in the OPLAN. A capability to operate in four cities was required. The whole operation would be under the control of the senior USIA man on the island.[2]

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[1] EA tapes, 1 May 1965.
[2] JCS 1230 to CINCLANT, 011959Z May 1965, SECRET.

Last, CINCLANT was requested to alert all U.S. public information facilities in Santo Domingo to give maximum publicity to the humanitarian role of JTF 122 -- food distribution, medical care and supplies, etc.[1]

Later the JCS authorized CINCLANT to deploy to Ramey at his discretion one tactical fighter squadron and one tactical reconnaissance squadron with support equipment and personnel.[2]

[1]JIB CINCLANT to SUB JIB AmEmb, 011936Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2]JCS 1235 to CINCLANT, 012205Z May 1965, SECRET.
[3]SAC to JCS, 010420Z May 1965, SECRET.
[4]CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 010032Z May 1965, SECRET.

IX. EMPLOYING U.S. FORCES

While these basic decisions were being taken in Washington with consequent military deployment activity, the scene in Santo Domingo throughout Saturday, the 1st, was relatively quiet. The cease-fire, it will be recalled, had gone into effect, or at least was declared to be in effect, and became the central focus of American attention. If the cease-fire were to hold, U.S. policy would be compelled to follow a line quite different from what it might do if the cease-fire turned out to be ineffective.

Bennett at dawn reported the city somewhat quieter and ascribed this to the cease-fire as well as to pure exhaustion of the antagonists. Because of the latter effect he felt the U.S. could expect the cease-fire to be at least partially effective. Added to exhaustion was a respect for U.S. forces. However, Bennett cautioned that the fact must be recognized that the cease-fire at this stage left the extremists in control of the heart and of other large areas of the city. If the cease-fire did take effect, this was a major problem to be faced in the immediate future.[1]

The message is interesting because it articulates the dilemma which had come to the fore. Having launched a military intervention under the guise of impartiality, the U.S. had found it unavoidable to sign the cease-fire, thus freezing the situation and creating a condition under which U.S. forces might be prevented politically from achieving the U.S. objectives they were prepared to achieve militarily. The clash between the political desire to end the bloodshed and the military one of eliminating the rebels was now quite apparent.

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 011000Z May 1965, SECRET.

The ambiguities surrounding the U.S. objectives and missions, as publicly enunciated, compared to the underlying realities added to the above dilemma. The effort to appear to be impartial in the face of actual partiality came under the concerted fire of the now very sizeable press corps in Santo Domingo. Their reports clearly bothered senior U.S. officials. The SecState complained to Bennett about news stories from the city, linking U.S. troops to operations alongside Wessin's forces. The SecState expressed the fear that "inaccurate accounts" might damage the "publicly assumed role of impartiality," and urged Bennett to persuade the wire services to publish "corrections."[1]

The public image was causing trouble. At the OAS meeting during the morning of the 1st, the Venezuelans accused the U.S. of violating the OAS Charter by sending in troops. Chile demanded the troops be withdrawn, while Mexico proposed that the meeting adopt a statement expressing concern, surprise, and consternation at the unilateral American acts.

Within the U.N. the Security Council announced that it would meet on 3 May in response to the Soviet charge that U.S. actions constituted armed intervention in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic.

Washington's concern was with more than the verbal barrage which was not unexpected. A State circular telegram went out around noon on the 1st to all posts in Latin America, warning that the situation might produce Communist-inspired direct physical attacks against U.S. lives and property, especially official buildings. Posts were warned to take all precautions necessary and appropriate, and to report by cable as soon as possible "for the President's information" the steps which had been taken.[2]

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[1]SecState to AmEmb, 010633Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2]SecState to all ARA Posts, 011545Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

This warning was shortly followed by one to the same posts stating that, wherever possible, U.S. officials should recommend to U.S.-owned private businesses that they be on the alert for sabotage attempts. In cases where appropriate, local governments should be warned of the possibility of such attacks.[1]

As to the future of the cease-fire, Bennett and the other senior Americans on the scene clearly did not expect it to last. They had become fully convinced of the extremist nature of the revolt and felt duplicity was inevitable. Commenting on reports that the rebels were shelling the electric plant around noon, the Ambassador commented that "it was a fine Castro way to observe a cease-fire."[2] Local American business representatives had come to see him during the morning and had expressed a similar conviction, that the forces leading the rebels were "pure Castro" together with some misguided and fanatical military officers like Caamano.[3]

The conviction led to a rather extraordinary willingness to believe anything which reinforced it. At 1300, for example, Bennett reported that information reaching the Embassy indicated that tonight, "just a few hours after the rebels had signed the cease-fire," they planned to attack the Embassy in order to seize personnel there and to hold them as bargaining hostages. The reports stated that the rebels would use artillery, tanks, and frogmen with explosives.[4]

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[1] SecState to all ARA Posts, 011836Z May 1965, SECRET.

[2] AmEmb to SecState, 011642Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

[3] AmEmb to SecState, 011642Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

[4] The rebels had some light artillery, mostly recoilless rifles, and were reputed to have 20 tanks at this point. The frogmen are an especially delightful touch. It is a common characteristic of small and insignificant nations that they develop an elaborate system of elite units, latter day Praetorian Guards. Usually it has been in the form of the "paratroopers" or "rangers." In the Dominican Republic ingenuity went further. To counter Wessin's "CEFA" or Armed Forces Training Camp "elite units," (we have seen how elite they turned out to be), the Dominican navy developed a super elite, the frogmen. Some of these joined the revolt. These people ran around in black rubber suits and, apart from a futile, heroic and botched effort to blow up the Duarte Bridge (three frogmen were killed by American paratroops), they did nothing more than provide an exotic bodyguard for Caamano. Yet at the time they were regularly described by the press as "highly trained," "elite," etc., much as had Wessin's force been.

Bennett had asked the Marine Guard Commander to take special precautions.[1]

While quite conceivably such a scheme could have been concocted, such an attempt in the face of the Marine armament available in defense of the Embassy certainly seemed highly unlikely and quite out of character with the military activities of the rebels thus far. The rebels, it should be recalled, had up to this time not resisted the U.S. troops with anything more than sniper shots and occasional automatic weapons bursts. Indeed, such an actual attack as Bennett suggests had taken place only once during the revolt, that being Wessin's abortive attack across the bridge on Tuesday.

While Bennett was reporting, as he should have, any information of significance, the willingness to consider this threat significant is interestingly illustrative of the state of mind still prevailing in the Embassy.

Bennett followed up this bit of information with a summary of his opinions on the cease-fire and its implications. He stated that he felt compelled to say frankly that the cease-fire was about to have very serious consequences for the U.S. The junta forces "which were not very aggressive in any event" were obeying the cease-fire, while the rebels were following the usual Communist tactic of complaining about violations "while they planned larger operations." As a result of the cease-fire, Bennett claimed, the junta forces withdrew across the Duarte Bridge so that there were presently no troops in the area to establish a line between the bridge and the ISZ, a mission which had been assigned to the Dominicans. This left a gap under which the vital road north could be used by the rebels.

Bennett said he realized that there were larger reasons for the cease-fire, but "we have had that." The Embassy "continued under attack throughout the night" and the rebels had the convenient excuse

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 011714Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

that the attackers are guerrillas whom they did not really control. Both U.S. Army and Marine forces have suffered casualties. The Ambassador concluded by remarking that the Colombian and Ecuadorian ambassadors were with him at the moment and saw these facts in clearest terms.[1]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Shortly after this, Bennett was informed by State of the additional deployments. The short-term reinforcements were to be two more battalions of the 82nd Airborne as reinforcements for the San Isidro perimeter and a Marine battalion to reinforce the ISZ: the medium-term reinforcement--1500 marines to be seaborne as soon as possible with twenty more helicopters and to debark on arrival in three to four days, the longer term--ten ships to embark 4000 marines for arrival after six days with a decision to land these to be made later.[2]

Around midnight Masterson also expressed concern to CINCLANT. He pointed out that under the terms of the cease-fire, the U.S. forces must remain in place, while the effect of the agreement would assist the Communists by giving them time to build up. Furthermore, he feared the rebels would derive a psychological advantage by claiming that the U.S. sought the cease-fire because we were losing. He did not believe there was any possibility of a stable situation under the current conditions, since the rebels, for all practical purposes, controlled Santo Domingo. The situation had grown worse since the mass distribution of weapons. He was convinced that "the longer the cease-fire continued,

[1] AmEmb to SecState 011830Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] SecState to AmEmb, 012100Z May 1965, SECRET.

the harder it would be to eliminate the virus." The junta forces were useless, so full responsibility devolved upon the U.S. Therefore, in view of these observations, he recommended that the troop build-up continue with the objective of having on the scene a U.S. force capable, on a no-notice basis, of sealing in the rebels as a first step in restoring Santo Domingo.

Masterson closed by adding that he had checked his basic observations with Palmer and Bennett who had concurred.[1]

A. INITIAL OPERATIONS PLANS

In view of the deep distrust of the cease-fire on the part of the senior U.S. officials on the spot, the key question throughout the 1st and after was how to employ U.S. forces so as to contain and eventually to suppress the rebels while apparently maintaining the terms of the cease-fire. Discussions centered about the most appropriate type of perimeter, while in the background, comparatively unspoken, was the possibility of an eventual use of U.S. troops to clear the city and wipe out the rebel forces.

The JCS, in a personal message from the Chairman, asked Masterson during the evening of the 1st for recommendations, stating that material was needed by 0800 on the 2nd for consideration at a high-level conference. The meeting would discuss alternative courses of action with particular attention to the Santo Domingo area. In view of the shortness of time, the CJCS expected Masterson's report to be rough (and mostly based upon Palmer's thoughts).

[1] CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 020418Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

B. The present planned perimeter, from the bridge to the Marine easternmost location. (Plan B)

C. Further out than the presently planned one on a line to be selected by CINCLANT. (Plan C)

The role of U.S. troops would be to control the flow in and out of the perimeter of men, materiel, food, water, and electricity.

Masterson was specifically asked:

1. To estimate the forces required to man each perimeter suggested.

2. To estimate the difficulty of maintaining each perimeter, the risks and costs involved.

3. Assuming needed forces were provided, how long it would take to put each alternative into effect.[1]

A copy of this message was also sent to Palmer.

Masterson replied seven hours later. His comments on all three suggested courses of action were predicated upon two basic assumptions:

1. That U.S. troops would in no way be prohibited from using conventional arms or equipment available as required to establish the perimeter, although the force used would be the minimum necessary;

2. That to man a perimeter it was first necessary to move out to a perimeter through rebel-held area. In other words it would be necessary to fight our way to the desired perimeter.

costs

[1] JCS 1237 to CINCLANT, 012340Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

In the meantime an astonishing error had occurred. The copy of the JCS message that was sent to Palmer was addressed to him as Commanding General, XVIIIth Abn Corps. Accordingly, it was forwarded to Fort Bragg, the HQ of the Corps and here, for an equally unaccountable reason, it was held. Palmer received it many hours later and apparently never was told about it earlier by Masterson who would have had no reason to think Palmer had not received his copy. Bennett, Palmer, Masterson and Tompkins met on board the BOXER during the 2nd to discuss operations, but it seems Palmer never learned of the

[1] CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 020714Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

exchange of messages with the all-important request for an estimate of forces needed.

Palmer made clear at a much later date that he did not agree with Masterson's estimate and would not have concurred with it.[1]

This then was the senior military commander's appreciation of the situation on the morning of the 2nd. In a sense, however, the choice had been predetermined by events. During the afternoon of the 1st Palmer had directed York to reconnoiter for a secure route through Santo Domingo which would allow a link-up between the paratroops and the Marines. A strong combat reconnaissance patrol from the 82nd had, accordingly, advanced west through the city, meeting with rebel resistance and suffering two killed and two wounded, until it reached the Marine line. The patrol was then withdrawn, and no further patrolling undertaken in view of the rebel complaints that the probe had constituted a violation of the cease-fire. The probe had been a key action, however, as it demonstrated the feasibility of an LOC which could be secured later if authorized, and also confirmed the presence of hostile rebel forces in the area.[2] The feasibility of Plan B had thus been established. Resistance had not been especially strong, so it is surprising that Masterson, hours later, should have indicated such caution in his estimate for the JCS.

Palmer's first report (about which more will be said later in a different context) was sent by Masterson to the JCS at 0418 on the 2nd and reinforced the concern over the cease-fire. Palmer said he had met with Bennett and "saw eye to eye" with him on the serious risks inherent in the present cease-fire and the necessity for more U.S. forces ashore. His military problem was to close the gap in the cordon and at the same time avoid a charge of provocation and

[1] USCOMDOMREP, Report.
[2] Ibid.

breach of the cease-fire. He realized that this dilemma was particularly acute with respect to the employment of junta forces in this role, although he was fully aware that these forces were not effective in any case. He reported that the motorized patrol of the 82nd had probed through the city to the Marines, losing two killed and two wounded, the reconnaissance confirming that hostile forces controlled the gap and "owned" the bulk of the city, with U.S. troops positioned primarily on the edges.

Palmer agreed with Bennett and Martin that the cease-fire favored the insurgents who could consolidate their hold on the city without interference. Furthermore, they continued to fire without provocation on the Marines and Embassy and on the 82nd's positions at the western end of the bridge, while an effort by them to blow up the bridge had been thwarted. U.S. forces were firing only in defense, and employing appropriate weapons such as the M79 grenade launcher and the 106mm recoilless rifle when fired on by machine guns.

As a result of the probe and to avoid further charges of cease-fire violations, Palmer had directed forces to remain within their present positions while negotiations were under way. This meant staying out of the gap since the insurgents interpreted entry as a breach. Under these ground rules he would be unable to complete the cordon and accomplish his mission of keeping the rebels bottled up. If this continued, and the cease-fire remained in effect, Palmer believed the result would be an inevitable deterioration in the military situation. He asked for guidance on this point.

He continued that he had been under the earlier incorrect impression that two BLTs were ashore, but had found only one in position. He hoped that another BLT and additional airborne battalions would give him a much greater capability to carry out his assigned mission.[1]

[1]CTF 120 to CJTF 122, 012245Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

In the meantime the additional U.S. forces were beginning to arrive. The Power Pack II units were coming in by 1400 Saturday, with landings planned for every five minutes. The 900 Marines had started coming in from Camp Lejeune via their own aircraft at 1800 on the 2nd.[1]

An hour and a half later, Palmer sent his first formal sitrep as COMLANDFORDOMREP to CINCLANT. After describing his positions, he stated a summary of his plans.

a. Once the force build-up reached the required level, he proposed to cordon off the southern half of the city to prevent reinforcement or escape of the enemy force.

b. Following establishment of the cordon, his forces would move to destroy the enemy force in the southern part of the city.

c. Execution of the plan would be dependent upon the decision concerning the cease-fire agreement.

d. His commander's operational plan continued to be XVIIIth Abn Corps OPLAN 310/2L.[2]

It should be noted that this message and the previous one from Palmer were respectively ten and eleven hours in reaching the JCS from the time of sending. During this period, as a result, there was no clear picture in Washington of just what the military situation was.

The key military problem of the moment was the closing of the gap between the two American-held sections. Not only would this confine the core of the rebel forces, but it would divide that core from the weaker less-organized rebel elements in the northern parts of the city. Furthermore, it would prevent, or at least make difficult, rebel communication with or passage to the rest of the country via the Peynado Bridge across the Rio Isabella, to the north of the city and just west of the junction of the Isabella and the Ozama. With

[1] NMCC to White House, 020317Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] COMLANDFORDOMREP to CINCLANT, 020038Z May 1965, SECRET.

roads to the east and the west blocked by U.S. forces, the Peynado Bridge was the sole link between the rebel stronghold and the rest of the country.

B. THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

There was an amazing lack of information on developments outside Santo Domingo, a lack which represented another failure of intelligence. Needless to add, the sentiments in the rest of the country could have been critical. Had there been real widespread active (instead of passive) support for the rebels there, the entire U.S. problem would have been transformed. Instead of clearing or containing a city, the U.S. would have had to think in terms of the occupation of the whole country.

On the morning of the second, eight days after the revolt had begun, for example, Ambassador Martin mentioned in a cable to State that "the situation outside the capital is unknown to me." Two hours later at 0800, the special NMCC task force notified the SecDef that intelligence reports indicated that three towns in the provinces were controlled by rebels. These were La Romana on the eastern end of the island, Altagracia in the central area northwest of the capital, and Binao north of Altagracia.[1]

[1] EA tapes, 2 May.

[1] AmEmb to SecState 021610Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] JCS 1256 to CINCLANT, 022114Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] JCS to AIG 936, 021632Z May 1965, SECRET.

The contingency plan had not included a requirement for Special Forces so the last-minute effort to deploy and employ them was not without problems. The proper equipment was not always available nor was the intelligence upon which to base counterinsurgency operations at hand. Reporting to both Washington and to CINCLANT tended to be irregular and spotty in coverage because of the sensitive nature of the Special Forces operations. Operations were known to and authorized by the minimum number of pertinent U.S. authorities.

C. THE POLITICAL ESTIMATES OF THE SITUATION

With a full day of observation and contact behind him, Ambassador Martin sent in early on the 2nd some grim thoughts. First were some personal impressions. He had visited Col. Caamano in the New City and came away with the impression of a "crafty, dangerous, but not crazy man." Martin felt Caamano had dug himself into a hole from which he could not escape alive, and was therefore using everybody -- the PRD, the PSP and all the other groups -- to win. Should he win, Martin feared, he could become another Castro.[1]

Martin's comment on Caamano's sanity presumably derives from the latter's curiously erratic conduct during the eight days of the revolt. He had taken asylum in the Salvadorean Embassy on Sunday night; the next day, in a phone conversation with the U.S. Embassy, had sworn to fight to the death; the next day he had come to the U.S. Embassy prepared to lay down his arms and accept the junta and the proposed elections. Now once again he was going to fight to the death.[2]

Bennett and Martin each sent to State, around 0500, an estimate of the situation at the moment. Martin's was more general and far ranging. He asserted at the outset that no political solution encompassing a rapprochement between the opposing forces

[1] AmEmb (Martin) to SecState, 020810Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 020515Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

was possible, given all the present circumstances. What had begun as a PRD rebellion had been taken over by extremists. These included some of the military who had gone so far that they had nothing to lose, plus hard-core Communists. Communist/non-Communist tags, Martin stressed, no longer mattered. Rebel leaders, especially Caamano, were "effective fanatics," although the rank and file of the movement were probably not Communist. However, it was virtually impossible at this time to separate innocent followers from leaders.

Martin was convinced that the rebels could have defeated the "loyalists" easily, had not the arrival of U.S. forces prevented it. Nonetheless, the junta armed forces had virtually disintegrated, and their "gutless generals were now waiting for us to do the job for them." Among the generals, Imbert came out best. The junta had no visible popular support and probably little future independent of the U.S.

Martin also reported that the cease-fire was in effect and that Mora, Secretary General of the OAS, was taking active steps to stop the bloodshed and to reach both sides. Significantly too, rebel surrenders had begun.

Martin concluded with three observations: (1) assuming that the cease-fire was effective, it restricted us and left the rebels in control of a large part of the city; (2) the cease-fire offered the U.S. time to develop political alternatives, such as buying rebel guns or finding a more acceptable replacement for the junta, or other such political steps; and (3) given the pressures over since Trujillo and the hate generated by the recent bloodbath, it was probable that military action would be required soon. The attitudes on both sides made it probable that military action would be necessary to assure pacification. Consequently, Martin recommended that the U.S. "get all the mileage possible" out of the present situation before that time.[1]

[1] AmEmb (Martin) to SecState, 020900Z May 1965, SECRET.

Bennett's message complemented Martin's. He considered that the key factor was the cease-fire, and with the five-member OAS commission due to arrive the next day, the U.S. had no real alternative to testing it. He reiterated his own and the Country Team's grave doubts as to the wisdom of a cease-fire which assisted the rebels, although he recognized that the "highest U.S. policy interests might make this course desirable." Nevertheless, the major U.S. concern, that "Castro/Communists" could somehow take over the country could now be discarded as long as the U.S. kept strong forces ashore.

The next job, as Bennett saw it, if the cease-fire did not collapse, which was perfectly possible, would be discreetly to assist the junta to commence operating as some kind of government. With a legal base and a recognized government established, the disarmament of the rebels would be the next priority task. "Cease-fire or no," the Ambassador said, "this would require U.S. military action." He hoped the U.S. would have the aid of an OAS presence in such operations. He closed by adding that he and Martin were in essential agreement.[1]

A contrast in approach may be detected here between the two Ambassadors. Bennet continues to rely upon the junta; Martin discards them.

It is of interest that both Bennett and Martin now felt that the situation was already passing into a political phase, but that, nonetheless, U.S. military action of one sort or another would inevitably be required. Bennett speaks of "disarmament of the rebels," while Martine refers to "pacification." It is far from clear as to what each actually was implying, but in both cases there would seem to be a recognition that the moment when U.S. forces could simply have crushed the revolt by direct attack had politically passed. Military action was inevitable, but it would now be constrained and not with the unlimited objective of smashing the rebels to pieces.

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 020900Z May 1965, SECRET.

During the evening of the 2nd, some sixteen hours after the above telegrams had been sent, Bennett and Martin indicated that their thinking was moving more and more in the direction of some political settlement. Martin who had, it will be recalled, arrived in Santo Domingo with sympathies for the rebel cause, had made clear his serious concern over extremist control of the revolt. Now, however, he gave due weight to the other side of the coin. He told Washington that "it seemed clear that there remains a distinctly popular element to the rebel movement, totally apart from extremism but of course cleverly played on by the Communists." Sources confirmed to him that the movement represented the long-pent-up frustration at the imagined indifference to public welfare at the hands of postcoup [post-Trujillo assassination] regimes. Martin's sources reported that the people behind the rebel lines talked less of Bosch than of constitutionality "to which they attach almost mystical quality." Even more they talked about Wessin "who represented all that the man in the street is against." There was a strong implication from sources who had a good knowledge of the people that the removal of Wessin would deprive the extremists of a major weapon that they had used to gain support

Martin suggested that State carefully consider this move as a bargaining counter. However, Caamano had told the British Charge d' Affaires that only the return of Bosch and of constitutionality would be acceptable as terms.[1]

[redacted]

Bennett followed Martin's cable with some comment on Martin's opinions. Martin, he said, was fully convinced now that the revolt started Sunday by the PRD was under the complete domination of Castro Communism, although Martin made clear that he did not consider the

[1] AmEmb (Martin) to SecState, 030010Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

leadership of the PRD to be Communist. He was quoted as saying that he imagined Bosch was as heartbroken as he about developments.

Bennett also mentioned that the foreign diplomatic corps almost unanimously approved the U.S. troop landing, several Latin American embassies having sent their thanks for U.S. protection. This theme Bennett had reiterated time and again.[1]

While emphasizing Martin's convictions on the role of the extremists, Bennett also reflected increased sensitivity to the political dilemma facing the U.S. He reported late on the 2nd that the day had brought no change in the political situation. No effective government existed. The junta was very weak, enjoyed little support, was indecisive and was composed of members who completely lacked stature. Reported efforts to form a cabinet had not materialized. Bennett felt that the probabilities of a negotiated settlement under present cease-fire conditions did not seem to have improved, notwithstanding the arrival during the day of the OAS commission.

Bennett then delineated, for the first time, the very serious issue of the attitude of the populace toward the American role. The problem had two aspects: (a) the reason for the American presence in Santo Domingo and (b) the widespread popular belief that we were supporting Wessin against the people, Wessin having become the bete noir. The Ambassador recommended an urgent psychological campaign to improve the U.S. image. However, as to the actual physical presence of U.S. soldiers, the population had been extraordinarily indifferent.[2]

Clearly both Ambassadors saw now the dilemmas confronting the U.S. The original objective of preventing a possible Communist takeover had been achieved, but now an alternative had to be developed.

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 030215Z May 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 030125Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

Instead of the earlier expectation that a hastily formed military junta would suffice, it had now become apparent that such would not suffice, that the revolt had far deeper roots than just Communist conspiracy. However, we had created the junta and were for the moment stuck with it. The guidance on dealing with the junta became remarkably ambivalent. Around noon on the 2nd State informed Bennett that it was rejecting Benoit's request for permission to establish the junta headquarters in the Congress building inside the ISZ. State flatly declared that in keeping with the strategy of impartiality which had been enunciated early in the week, it could not honor a request of this sort. DOD had also instructed military commanders "to avoid over-identification" with the junta force. State thought that the junta from its own point of view would want to do the same in regard to the U.S.[1]

This typified the confusion of thought prevalent at the moment. After a week of being told to form a junta, and to encourage it by every means to resist the rebels, the Embassy and the U.S. military on the scene were now to "avoid over-identification." Also, State's idea that the junta should try to keep the U.S. at arms length seems remarkably naive in view of their obvious total dependence upon the U.S.

D. THE PROBLEM OF INFORMATION FLOW AND COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS

There had been impatience in Washington since the very beginning of U.S. involvement over the slowness of information flow from Santo Domingo, especially from the military commanders. By the 2nd this impatience had become extreme and finally the President himself took a direct hand.

The problem flowed in part from the rather confused command arrangements. It will be recalled that General Palmer's orders, given verbally, were not overly explicit, leaving open the question of just what his ultimate relationship to Admiral Masterson as

[1]SecState to AmEmb, 021725Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

CJTF 122 and to CINCLANT would be. On arrival at San Isidro, he had found his communications to the Marines so inadequate that he assumed command of only the Army forces for the moment, and so informed the DDO at the NMCC around 0430 on the 1st in a phone conversation.[1] However, he had earlier sent a formal message to CINCLANT announcing that he had assumed control of all forces ashore, thereby confusing LANT's understanding of the situation.

Palmer's questions concerning his relationship to CJTF 122 could only be answered by CINCLANT who had responsibility but who was slow in considering the changed circumstances. OPLAN 310/2 had been far surpassed in troop strengths involved, so that a command structure under which a full corps plus an MEB ashore were under the command of a floating task force headquarters was now clearly inadequate. CINCLANT, furthermore, seemed increasingly out of the picture. CINCLANT personally spoke to the DJS around noon on the 1st, about the propriety of Palmer's cabling on a "personal" basis to the CJCS for more forces, and emphasized that he intended to tighten his control of developments.[2]

It should be added that the use of personal messages between principals tended to slow down the already poor communication flow. By their very nature personals delayed the filtering down to action levels of key information.

As part of the effort, CINCLANT sent a message on command arrangements to CONARC, CINCLANTFLT, COMTAC, and CJTF 122 at 1900 on the 1st. He stated that OPLAN 310/2-64 and its annexes were the basic guidance in the Dominican situation, with Change No. 1 of October 1964 already promulgated. It was recognized that there had

[1] Typical of the communications uncertainty of the moment was the fact that this call came to the NMCC by means unknown. An NMCC check was unable to ascertain later just what channels were used.

[2] EA tapes, 1 May.

been and would continue to be deviations from the plan, but used as basic guidance it should help to keep the growing operation in coordination. To assist in this, the basic OPLAN and its several annexes were herewith reduced in security classification from TOP SECRET to SECRET. It was expected that when the forces currently ordered were in place, there would be an organizational change establishing COMDOMREP directly under LANT with near or more distant naval forces under LANTFLT in support.

CINCLANT also specified that ARLANT, LANTFLT, and AFLANT were responsible for providing forces, controlling their movement to and from the area of operations, and supporting them logistically. He cautioned that the last-mentioned function would require careful coordination and cooperation.[1]

LANT recognized at this time that command arrangements were not firm and would not be so for a day or two. The Deputy CINCLANT explained to the DDO that before current arrangements were altered, they wished to be sure that Palmer was fully operational with adequate communications and that assigned forces were well under way so Palmer would not be presented with a chaotic mess upon assumption of wider command.

With Palmer suffering from inadequate communications, with Masterson on the BOXER, and the whole picture clouded by ambivalent command relationships, the flow of information to Washington did not in any way improve. During the late afternoon of the 1st the President became personally involved in an effort to get more information up from Santo Domingo. Around 1730 on the 1st, he called the CJCS in reference to a cable from Ambassador Bennett reporting a deteriorating situation with sporadic firing at the Embassy by uncontrolled groups of rebels. The CJCS checked on the message with the DDO in the NMCC, but the NMCC had not received this message which

[1]CINCLANT to CONARC, LANTFLT, COMTAC, CJTF 122, 012300Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

apparently State and the White House had, and so the NMCC asked State Operations Center about it.

Before this investigation could go further, a new element intruded. At 1806 on the 1st the SecDef called the CJCS to tell him that State had just spoken to the Embassy where someone told them that the airborne units had moved across from the bridgehead to link up with the Marines in a patrol action and had then returned. Two men had been killed and several wounded. The SecDef had heard nothing about this previously and personally doubted it. The CJCS had heard nothing either; although Palmer had said in his early afternoon message that he was going to try to move west to link up with the Marines. (This was the reconnaissance patrol previously described.)

By 1903 the NMCC had established that the accumulation of items which had disturbed the President -- reports of violations, the cable about the possible attack on the Embassy, etc. -- really represented nothing new but rather more of the same. The cease-fire violations continued but there were no indications of any profound changes in the military situation.

At 1930 General Clifton at the White House called the DDO for some specific information for the President, specifically when would Palmer be in command or was he now, and where was his first sitrep. The DDO called the CJCS for answers but the CJCS stated that it was not yet known whether Palmer was in command or when he would be. All they knew was that Palmer was commanding the Army troops only. The Chairman felt that Palmer was probably delayed in taking command of the whole force until he could move over from San Isidro to the Embassy.

The DDO reported to General Clifton that Palmer was trying to move his 112-man headquarters over to the Embassy and to set up a command there over all ground forces. The SecState had asked Ambassador Bennett to assist Palmer by making room for him at the

Embassy. Once there, the DDO added, we could expect to start receiving sitreps from him.

However, this was more easily said than done. When the Embassy learned the size of Palmer's HQ force, they reported around 2300 on the 1st that they could not possibly accommodate it, having planned on only forty men. The Embassy was unbearably crowded as it was. State Operations Center, in notifying the DDO of this problem, said that one of their people knew from experience that there were several buildings near the Embassy which could be used as headquarters. The CJCS, when told of this, directed that Palmer be told of the State recommendation and to act accordingly. This would avoid the necessity of using tents.

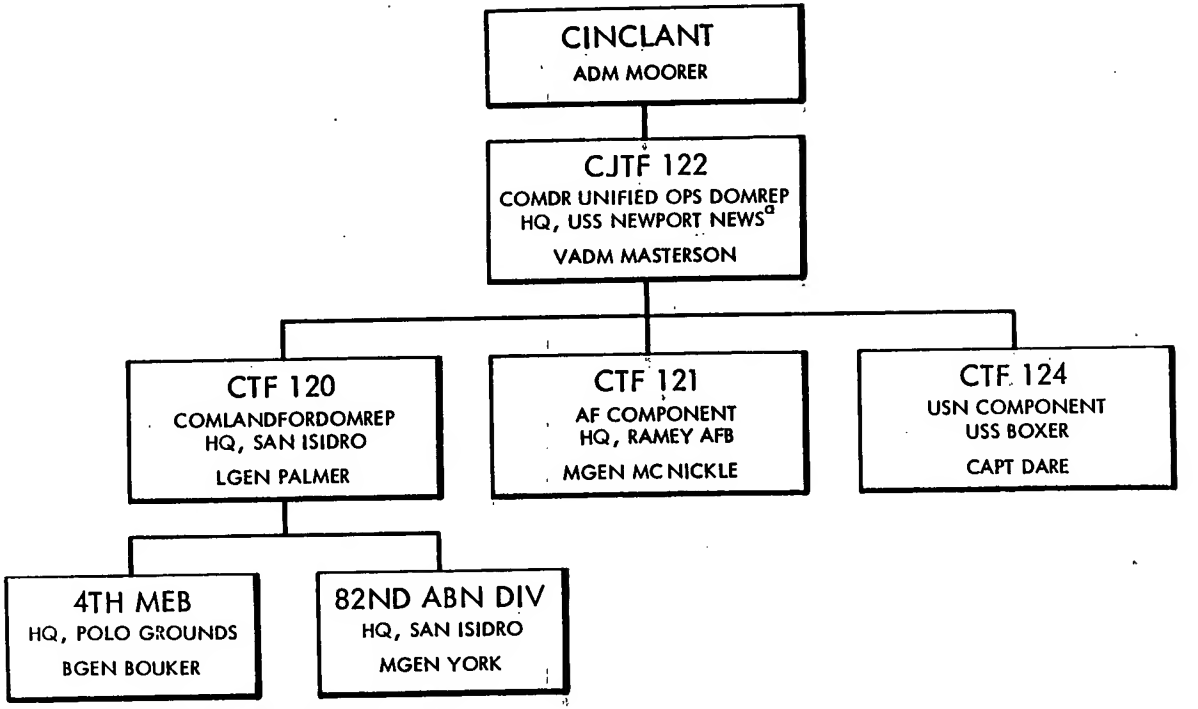
At 2005 on the 1st the Deputy CINCLANT notified the DDO that Palmer had taken over command of all ground forces at 1945 that day. However, he had indicated that he was not yet able to move from San Isidro because of the communications problem. Masterson who had sent up this information had no idea when the move to the Embassy would take place.

Palmer finally decided to relocate only his CP to the Embassy, establishing it and his G-2/G-3 staff elements in the Embassy building. leaving the main headquarters at the airfield. The next day Palmer moved his CP into the old Trujillo Palace next door and was operational at 1400 on the 3rd. By 1500 on the 4th his full HQ was in operation in the Palace.[1]

Thus Palmer was operating with only an austere staff during the two critical days 2-4 May.

The problem of just what Palmer was commanding and from what location became involved in the derivative problem of sitreps from the scene. Impatience at the top level over the absence of such reports from Palmer has already been noted. Masterson, in the call to CINCLANT concerning Palmer's location, had reported about 2000 that a high-level meeting had just concluded and that a sitrep was being prepared. However, when the DDO asked Deputy CINCLANT whether or not the sitrep

[1] USCOMDOMREP Report.



[a]Transferred from USS BOXER at 0800 2 May 1965.

FIGURE 3. Command Structure as of 4 May

would be Palmer's, a CTF 120 sitrep, he was told that it would not, since Masterson was still senior officer and so the sitrep would be from CJTF 122 and would include Palmer's report. Admiral Needham commented that until things were organized ashore, CINCLANT intended to maintain the CJTF 122 organization, but expected in three or four days to go to a different command arrangement.

This information was reported by the DDO to the CJCS and then to Clifton at the White House. Clifton made clear that the sitrep arrangement was not likely to please the President who wanted to know directly what Palmer was reporting. He asked that some arrangement be made so the White House could get information copies of whatever came from Palmer to anyone. The President wanted to read what Palmer was saying as quickly as he read the Ambassador's reports. Clifton said he realized that this involved violating all the normal command channels, but that this was a matter of considerable concern on the part of the President.

The DDO consulted the CJCS and Admiral Needham and it was decided that Palmer should be instructed to send a sitrep for all the ground forces with CJTF 122 merely as an information addressee.

At 2211 on the 1st Clifton again called the DDO with a request from the President for a wrap-up of the day's activities, to be delivered to the White House an hour and a quarter hence. It was to be simple and to the point, and, Clifton stressed, "Keep it in English--no abbreviations. He doesn't even want NMCC, because he doesn't know what they mean. JTF doesn't mean a thing, but Admiral Masterson does."

The DDO checked with the CJCS on the contents of the briefing. It was decided to give plans for the next day, forces en route, forces alerted, forces there, casualties, and accomplishments of the day. The wrap-up was dispatched to the White House and well received. At 0010 on the 2nd Clifton asked the DDO for another wrap-up by 0630, expressing the urgent wish for a single message signed by Palmer. He said State had also directed Bennett and Martin to get some special reports up to Washington on their observations and estimates.

An hour later the DDO called the LANT Duty Officer to inquire whether Palmer had been heard from. He expressed the President's concern and likely irritation if nothing had been heard from Palmer before the 0630 wrap-up was delivered. The DDO urged that special efforts be made to reach Palmer and get a sitrep from him.

At 0338, just as General Clifton had warned the NMCC he would, the President called the DDO for the latest information. The DDO gave him information from an Embassy cable that U.S. casualties were two Marines dead and twenty wounded plus one Army dead, one possibly dead, and sixteen wounded. This was a cable that had come in previously. The latest military report in hand gave two Marines dead, one Army dead and twenty-two wounded. The President was surprised that the NMCC did not know how these casualties had occurred.

The DDO went to CINCLANT for the latest casualty figures and relayed these to the White House a couple of hours after the President's call. He was astonished to learn that the President was trying to call Palmer at San Isidro. This information he immediately relayed to CINCLANT as illustrative of the President's interest and as further incentive for increased efforts to get a sitrep system into operation. The President had tried to reach Palmer on single side band, but on the failure of this connection, he was trying through commercial lines.

This fact, the DDO pointed out, was a very pointed indicator of the President's desire to talk to Palmer. The President finally got through to Palmer via the Air Force C-130 TALKING BIRD that was at San Isidro and several circuitous relay routes.

Finally at 0614 the CINCLANT DO notified the DDO that a message from Palmer to Masterson had been sent by Masterson to CINCLANT, the JCS, and the Embassy. This was the message the contents of which were described earlier in this section. Palmer had sent it as a TOP SECRET personal to Masterson at 1845 the previous day. Masterson had transmitted it to the JCS at 0418 on the 2nd. CINCLANT had

investigated the delay, alerting Masterson as to its seriousness via single side band, and had learned that failure of JTF 122 circuits were the cause of the delay in transmission. The DDO requested that LANT have Palmer address his sitrep to them but information copies should go to the JCS, the White House, the SecState at once. He pointed out that a similar system was operative for PAC where essentially everything that went from subordinate commands to PAC also went to the JCS, and for the most part to the White House and State also.

The DDO also asked LANT if Palmer's reply to the CJCS message on the three proposed plans had been received, inasmuch as the Chairman required Palmer's estimates in another hour. However, for reasons stated earlier in this section, Palmer had never received the JCS request.

The White House in the meantime tightened its information requirements. State, CIA, and the NMCC were informed in early afternoon that the President desired that in all information reports on the Dominican Republic prepared in Washington for the White House: (1) times be reported as EDT using a twelve-hour system, and (2) all abbreviations be identified at least the first time used on each page.

State similarly alerted Bennett to the President's desire for a Country Team report twice a day, to be available 8:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. in Washington. This report should include a joint estimate of the political, military, and relief situation and recommendations for any additional Washington action not already entrain. Reports should specifically include the personal recommendations of the Ambassador and the Commanding General, whether agreed or not. Bennett was told that this instruction would supersede any other instructions he now had on periodic sitreps, but did not change the requirement for immediate spot reports on specific problems or changes in the situation.[1]

[1] SecState to AmEmb 021855Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

As a result of expressed Presidential interest and of the gradual subsidence of confusion in the command structure and communications pictures, the flow of information improved markedly after the 2nd.

X. ESTABLISHING THE LOC

Even though Palmer's recommendations on the three JCS-suggested plans had not yet been received, it was clear by the morning of the 2nd that action on one of the plans would be undertaken fairly soon. [redacted] The SecDef, on informing the CJCS, was disconcerted to learn that the two units would not fully close San Isidro until the following morning, the reason being airfield and airspace congestion.

The Vice J-3 phoned the deployment order to CINCLANT at 0952, urging that notifications be made down the chain of command by phone, in order to avoid delays that resulted from awaiting formal message orders, delays which had marked the earlier deployments for this reason. Furthermore, there would be more than the usual lapse of time between the verbal and the written orders because the SecDef wished to discuss the deployment with other people.[1]

CINCLANT was also told to land the Marines from the OKINAWA immediately on arrival.[2]

Deputy CINCLANT immediately called General Bowen, the departing Commanding General, XVIIIth Abn Corps, at Fort Bragg to relay the execute. He followed up with a call to CONARC, explaining his bypassing them in the interests of speed. Furthermore, he intended that CONARC maintain control over the airlift of unnecessary heavy equipment. [redacted]

[1] The formal message was sent five hours later. JCS 1252 to CINCLANT, 021826Z May 1965, SECRET.

[2] JCS 1245 to CINCLANT, 021406Z May 1965, SECRET.

Not long after this, the JCS also directed CINCLANT to deploy the remainder of the tactical air support units to Ramey, but cautioned that Power Pack III was to have airlift priority over this move.[2]

A. THE DECISION TO IMPLEMENT PLAN B

In the two days since the cease-fire had been signed, the rebels had been relatively quiescent, and had made no effort to push out of Ciudad Neuva. Nevertheless, the gap between the Marine positions on the west and the paratroops along the river remained a source of menace. Failure to close it and the possible consequent escape of the armed rebels to the countryside could jeopardize the whole U.S. effort at containing the revolt at minimum cost to all concerned. During the afternoon of the 2nd the problem suddenly became critical.

At 1208 on the 2nd, the Deputy SecDef, Mr. Vance, notified the Chairman that there would be a White House meeting in Mr. Bundy's office that evening at 2100 for the purpose of reviewing the situation and, particularly, to consider the ramifications of an order to implement Plan B. Up to this point, there did not appear to be any special urgency about such a decision.

However, in something over an hour, the climate had begun to change. At 1319 CINCLANT personally called the CJCS to describe a conversation he had just held with Palmer. The latter had reported that he was attending a conference at the Embassy and that the situation in the city seemed to be deteriorating. The OAS Commission was over at San Isidro with no road access to the Embassy. Palmer said he felt that it was becoming more apparent hourly that the gap would have to be closed. The Chairman explained that it was planned to do so and that a message would soon be on its way, but that the decision makers preferred not to undertake the action that day. The hope was that the U.S. could persuade the OAS Commission to come forward with

[2] JCS 1250 to CINCLANT, 021758Z May 1965, SECRET.

the suggestion that the gap be closed for humanitarian reasons--to facilitate the distribution of food, water, and medical supplies. The idea was to "get some sort of political peg to hang our hats on," and the Chairman recognized the validity of this.

CINCLANT also added that Palmer had just received the missing JCS message which had gone to Fort Bragg. It was not until an hour previously that CINCLANT had been able to notify the NMCC of the full details of the confusion.

The Chairman decided on the basis of CINCLANT's conversation with Palmer to call the latter personally a few minutes later. He asked Palmer whether he feared a further deterioration that day as compared to yesterday, to which Palmer replied affirmatively. He pointed out that a program of vicious anti-American propaganda was under way, that looting continued, and that starvation was rife. Not having any access to the center of the city, the U.S. forces could do nothing in the way of relief measures. He offered several points as a rational for immediately opening a corridor.

In the first place, the OAS-authorized ISZ had no access to it by sea, the OAS Commission, for example, having had to go by helicopter from San Isidro. Similarly the international airfield, Punta Cauceda on the coast southeast from San Isidro, was similarly cut off.

Secondly, he and all the American officials there felt that the situation was bound to deteriorate as a result of the violent anti-American propaganda. It was estimated [redacted] that there were still 1000 to 4000 "young civilians" who had not yet decided whether to cease fighting and who would continue to loot and shoot

b1
b5

as long as they thought they could get away with it. The hard core, Palmer said, were about 2500 in number, and it was this group whom the 1000 to 4000 "small fry" were imitating. Furthermore, the city was full of weapons. Palmer then said that "before the fracas started, the government issued 10,000 arms which we have discovered are mostly machine pistols, etc."[1] Also, he had had reports from the junta that arms were being unloaded from an unidentified freighter in the main wharf area, and, on flying over the vessel, had found her riding high in the water. He thus felt that the reported arms had already been unloaded.

The Chairman explained Washington's preference that the suggestion come from the OAS Commission, pointing out that the difference in timing between Palmer's suggested time and the JCS time for opening a corridor would only be some 14 or 15 hours. Therefore, he recommended that the situation be allowed to simmer that much longer.

Palmer replied that the Ambassador felt that there would be some advantage to doing the job now, before the Commission had a chance to settle down, especially since Bennett reported Mora as being sympathetic. However, he agreed with the Chairman that the extra time would allow for explanation to the Commission. Also, it would permit utilization of certain psychological warfare equipment, such as loud-speakers and leaflets, which were just now beginning to be landed.

Nevertheless, Palmer strongly urged that the move be undertaken sooner rather than later the next morning, suggesting 0600 or 0700 as the start time, since light came early and people arose early.

Palmer was pleased to hear of the deployment of the fifth and sixth BCTs, since he continued to fear that the Embassy was in danger, placed as it was right on the edge of the ISZ. Inasmuch as the Marine heavy equipment--artillery and tanks--was available there, however, he was sure any attack could be held.[2]

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[1]This statement by Palmer would appear to substantiate the belief, alluded to earlier, held by the G-2 at the 82nd Abn HQ that the original issue of weapons (before the Fortaleza fell) had been made by the government forces and not the rebels.

[2]EA tapes, 2 May.

As backup for Palmer's position, Ambassador Bennett at 1400 sent a formal endorsement of Palmer's request to establish a corridor, specifying that he had Mora's approval. He asked State to authorize him to have Mora inform Caamano of the forthcoming operation.[1] It would appear that he had immediate second thoughts on this last point, most probably in view of an almost certain disapproval by Palmer, and so decided not to do so "in view of the military factors."[2]

The formal JCS message which the Chairman had mentioned went out to CINCLANT at 1403. It stated that the JCS desired that U.S. forces be prepared to establish at daylight, on 3 May, a perimeter linking the Marine forces and the airborne troops at the Duarte Bridge. The general trace of the perimeter was that envisioned in Alternative Plan B of JCS 1237. If there were any actions which COMLANDFORDOMREP considered he must undertake that day in order to be prepared to execute the mission at daylight the next morning, he should notify the JCS at once.

To guide Palmer's thinking and to provide a ready response to questions as to the need for the perimeter, the message stated that it was apparent that as U.S. forces increased, a ground LOC between the two U.S. forces would be necessary if we were to be able to capitalize on the use of Haina and San Isidro. Therefore, a secure route between the two forces was militarily mandatory.

The JCS asked what additional forces would be required to maintain the perimeter once established. Lastly, Palmer was ordered not to establish the perimeter until specifically directed.[3]

In anticipation of Palmer's estimate of additional troops to man the perimeter, the JCS directed CINCLANT to place the seventh, eighth, and ninth BCTs of the 82nd Abn in optimum readiness condition for deployment.[4] At 1528, the Chairman, in a conversation with Admiral

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 021800Z May 1965, SECRET.

[2] AmEmb to SecState, 021844Z May 1965, SECRET.

[3] JCS 1251 to CINCLANT, 021803Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

[4] JCS 1253 to CINCLANT, 021837Z May 1965, SECRET. It is interesting to note that in a call to TAC in regard to this order, the Vice J-3 explained that the term "optimum readiness" was used rather than a DefCon level since the "Air Force uses one DefCon and the Army uses another." This term was flexible and open to interpretation ~~according~~ to circumstances.

Moorer, informed him that while no one among the command authorities was inclined to launch the operation that day, there was serious consideration being given to launching it about 6 or 7 a.m. the next morning. [ ] Therefore, CINCLANT was to prepare to move the Marine battalion as well as the three airborne units.[1]

At 1555 the Chairman again called Palmer who told him that with the full agreement of Bennett and Martin he was prepared to move at midnight. The rationale was that the rebels would be worn out from the day's excitement and most of them would be asleep when the U.S. forces began to advance. There would be no warning given, but at daylight the psychological warfare apparatus would go into operation to inform the populace of what had occurred.

The Chairman was clearly concerned that, even with the two additional battalions, Palmer's forces would be stretched dangerously thin. He called Palmer again ten minutes later pointing out that the OAS Commission would not have had time to act by midnight, and that if U.S. troops should be sighted or heard going through the city, serious consequences could occur. (He was, of course, referring to the unpleasant possibility of U.S. forces having to fight a night engagement in city streets against an enemy of unknown strength.) He didn't doubt that Palmer could do it, but rather wondered if there might not be a better way to do it. As to the Commission's not acting, Palmer's response was that the Ambassador was maneuvering to use Mora's acquiescence alone as approval in order to avoid a general discussion of the enterprise with the whole Commission. Palmer reiterated the reasoning that by quickly and quietly doing it, and then by immediately following up with psychological warfare operations and food distribution along the LOC at daybreak, the rebels would be prevented from attacking the U.S. lines.

[1] The formal message assigning the 1/8 Marines to forces committed to the Dominican Republic was JCS 1258 to CINCLANT, 022259Z May 1965, SECRET.

He further assured the Chairman that his military judgment, as well as the Ambassador's political judgment, supported the move. A certain sensitivity on the part of the Chairman as to the possible overriding of Palmer's judgment by the Ambassador is apparent here, as the Chairman had asked if this were Palmer's recommendation as well as Bennett's. As to fighting in the dark, Palmer's point was that if the troops were to run into difficulties, they would merely sit out the darkness and then complete the operation by daylight. However, he was convinced it could be done with little or no actual fighting and at least risk to the innocent populace all around.[1]

[redacted]

As the event turned out, Palmer received first word of the decision of the White House meeting not from his military superiors. At 0055 on the 3rd, he phoned the Chairman and spoke with the DDO--the Chairman being in a car without a radio on his way back from the White House. Palmer was calling from the Embassy from which Bennett had just spoken with the President and had received the President's approval. Palmer said he would await a call from the Chairman to confirm the decision.[3]

At that moment, the SecDef interrupted the conversation, apparently not realizing Palmer was on the line, and preempted the line to tell the DDO to inform the Chairman as soon as possible of the decision to

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[1] EA tapes, 2 May.

[2] Interview, USCOMDOMREP, Santo Domingo, 9 August 1965.

[3] At this very same moment, Bennett sent word to State that the OAS Commission agreed and requested authority to move.

have Palmer go ahead. Palmer was to use the phrase "establish the line of communication." Also, the DDO was to tell the Chairman to deploy the three airborne BCTs and the Marine airlift battalion. The SecDef was in the SecState's office in case clarification was needed.

The DDO replied that he had just been talking with Palmer. The SecDef ordered him not to relay this information to Palmer, but the DDO stated that, while he personally would not do so, Palmer already had received the news from the Embassy. The SecDef commented that the Embassy did not have any authority to issue any order like that.

When the Chairman was notified by the DDO, he questioned the absence of a specified time in the SecDef's instruction, although he assumed it meant at once, but would check with the SecDef to be certain. He was interrupted by his secretary with word that a message for him from Palmer had just arrived, stating that he was prepared to commence the operation anytime after midnight and expected thereby to have established the perimeter and the link-up by daylight, around 0500. A check with the SecDef clarified the fact that Palmer was to move at once.

At 2018 Palmer called the Chairman again and explained that when he and Bennett had returned from their successful meeting with the Commission, the Ambassador had called the President who gave the go-ahead. Palmer, obviously eager to get into action, had called to obtain the JCS authorization. This the Chairman gave with the timing to be left to Palmer.

The Chairman next relayed these instructions to CINCLANT, along with the order to move the three airborne units and the Marine battalion. Twenty minutes later the Vice J-3 similarly relayed them to the Deputy CINCLANT.[1] The formal execute message to Palmer went out at 2140, ordering him to execute the operation starting at any time after midnight 2-3 May, to establish a line of communication from the Duarte Bridge to the ISZ.[2]

[1] EA tapes, 2 May.
[2] JCS 1261 to CINCLANT, CTF 120, 030140Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

CINCLANT was directed ten minutes later to deploy the last three BCTs, but not to allow these deployments to interfere with the current airlift of essential logistics support of forces already in the Dominican Republic.[1] This last requirement was due to a partial reversal of the situation previously existing. While men were still the prime demand, the rations which they were on were now down to a very austere level, and an effort was under way to improve that supply situation.

The actual achievement of the LOC was anticlimatic, in view of the concern generated by the thought of the operation. Three battalions of the 82nd moved westward shortly after midnight to link up with the Marines who advanced a short distance eastward to meet them. A cryptic message from Palmer at 0304 on the 3rd reported that the link-up had occurred at 0111.[2] There had been no incidents. The operation had taken one hour and 14 minutes.

The route selected (see Figure 2 - Central Santo Domingo), in line with the rationale for the LOC and in light of the cease-fire, was calculated on the basis of the shortest distance and the least rebel resistance. Generally the earlier reconnaissance patrol route was followed. At the western end the LOC deliberately avoided the known hot spot at Avenida Puerto Rico, and instead turned south along Calle San Juan Bosch. Doing so turned out to be a costly decision, since had the more northerly route been taken, the LOC would have had to include Radio Santo Domingo (RSD), the significance of which, according to Palmer, was not so apparent at that time. It is difficult to understand how it could not have been apparent however, since, as the next section will relate, efforts had already begun on the 2nd to jam RSD.[3]

It was also questioned later why Palmer did not go through the heart of the rebel territory on a route which would have encompassed the main banks, the post office, and the main telephone exchange, all

[1] JCS 1262 to CINCLANT, 030153Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] COMLANDFORDOMREP to CINCLANT, 030704Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] Connett stated in an interview with the author that he had expected the LOC to include RSD, but that sometime during the night, the lines were changed. He knew who was responsible but would not say.

three of which later became valuable pawns in Caamano's hands. However, Palmer was convinced that to have taken this route would have meant encountering and having to defeat the main rebel forces. In view of the rationale for the LOC and of the cease-fire, this would not have been permitted by the OAS Commission, whose approval had been made a precondition of the operation by the President.[1]

Palmer reported on the operation and on his future plans to Masterson at 0751 on the 3rd. He was preparing to start distributing food that morning along the LOC and was supporting the USIA information effort with psychological warfare equipment. He reported that the previous afternoon the security perimeter of the ISZ had been pushed out on its eastern edge for a distance of two blocks with no opposition, thus providing the Embassy with much better protection.

At daylight, he intended to extend the secure area two blocks north and south of the LOC in order to make it secure from small arms fire. Any civilian or irregular forces entering or crossing the LOC would be disarmed, but he would allow free access along the LOC to the city as far as possible. Palmer realized the potential for trouble in this.

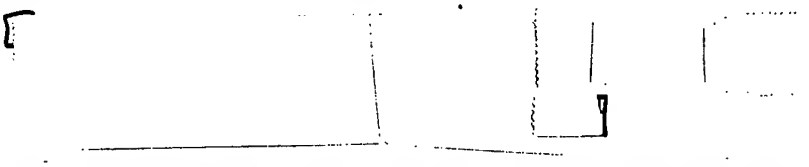
His intention was to weaken any popular support of the rebel forces. The poorer population of the city lying north of the LOC were believed to support the rebels to a greater degree than those in the New City, but the armed rebel elements in this area were relatively weaker in arms and organization. On the other hand, the better-off people south of the LOC did not support the rebels, but the best trained and best armed hard-core rebels were concentrated in the southern part, the commercial heart of the city. He believed the poorer element north of the LOC would be susceptible to the psychological warfare/civilian relief program and that their support of the rebels could be weakened. The existence of the LOC

[1]USCOMDOMREP, Report. Also, interview, USCOMDOMREP, Santo Domingo, 9 August 1965.

should tend to dry up rebel resistance north of the LOC. Furthermore, junta "President" Benoit had reported that he had established road blocks to prevent movement of arms from the New City to the countryside.

Palmer commented that he had established solid military liaison with the junta headquarters at San Isidro and would support it to the extent desired by the Ambassador. The morale of the junta forces, he observed, appeared to be rising as a result of U. S. operations.

Now that the LOC was open, Palmer hoped to move heavier equipment overland from San Isidro to establish better communications and staff facilities at his CP near the Embassy. As soon as communications permitted, he would recommend the establishment of Commander U. S. Forces DomRep, "chiefly" under CINCLANT, in accord with the command relations indicated by CINCLANT in his message of 1900 on the 1st.



Ambassador Bennett sent to State a summary of the rationale for the LOC, listing the need for ground access to the airfields from the ISZ, vital to the supply of U. S. troops and for relief distribution, as well as providing for the safety of the Commission as it moved about the city.[2] The entire emphasis was on the humanitarian aspects of the operation, on what it would mean in terms of relief measures.

Another purpose, which was to remain unstated, was to permit the movement of the junta forces at San Isidro across the city to begin a nibbling process from the northwest against the rebel-held northern portion of the city where rebel forces were believed to be weak.[3] Whether this ever did occur became one of the most violently

[1] CTF 120 to CJTF 122, 021151Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 030530Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[3] Interview, CINCLANT, 2 July 1965.

controversial aspects of the whole U. S. intervention. It has not proved possible to ascertain definitely the truth here, since conflicting evidence of solid nature is found on both sides. However, any junta activity was not to come for another ten days.

The paratroopers began the distribution of food during the afternoon of the 3rd to a population who, for the greater part by far, showed their friendliness and gratitude. There was intermittent sniper fire, of course, sometimes heavy and that morning the U. S. casualties had risen to six dead and forty-one wounded. Pursuit of snipers involved the paratroops in house-to-house and rooftop fighting which was conducted extremely well. There was trouble too over the next two days with organized mobs which attempted to enter the LOC. In this period, the original thinly held lines were widened, and with the passage of time these lines became elaborate sandbag, pillbox and wire entanglement complexes.

On a step-by-step basis, a set of rules was developed for the ISZ/LOC. No loyalist or rebel troops, armed or unarmed, would enter the ISZ from any direction, nor would any be allowed to leave the ISZ--a rule necessary because, according to Palmer's report, there were junta troops in the ISZ at the time of the cease-fire--nor would any be allowed to traverse the LOC in either direction, east and west, or cross it, north and south. At established checkpoints on the eastern edge of the ISZ and in the LOC, unarmed individuals (all persons were searched by U. S. soldiers) were allowed to pass back and forth from the rebel zone. Later, a differentiation was made between junta troops and government police, allowing the latter to move in and out of the ISZ and through the LOC with arms on the basis that they were needed to reestablish law and order. The police were not, however, allowed to make arrests within the ISZ.

It is of interest to note that Palmer developed his own rules of engagement, never having received any guidance from the JCS on this.

In mid-June, in response to a query from OSD, the NMCC researched the point and were unable to find any record of such guidance.

The rebel reaction to the LOC when dawn came on the 3rd and they found American troops in their midst was much less violent than we had feared. In fact, later that day, Mora reported that Caamano and his group had made no great outcry in meeting with the OAS Commission about the establishment of the LOC. Caamano had even proposed to the Commission that the rebels and the U.S. forces establish a joint military police service along the line to prevent Americans being shot at.[1]

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 032330Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

XI. THE SITUATION STABILIZES

The establishment of the ISZ was to be, it turned out, the only major planned U.S.-initiated military operation of the whole crisis. The only major military clash was not to come until mid-June, and then it arose from rebel initiative long after the situation had been stabilized. Although it was not fully realized at the time, the LOC had trapped 80 percent of the rebel forces in a fairly confined area. Their entrapment was complete, with food, water, and power supplies in U.S. hands. Rebel morale began to sag at once, although the more farsighted among the rebels had probably realized when the first U.S. Marines came ashore that their cause was hopeless.

It has been stated in an official State Department chronology that two of the extremist groups discussed on 4 May the advisability of withdrawing their top leaders from open activity, and that the leaders of all three extremist groups decided to withdraw 5 May.[1]

This, of course, was not immediately apparent. Palmer maintained a very cautious view. Later during the day of the 3rd he sent Masterson a report on enemy capabilities. The rebels, he felt, had four courses of action and capabilities for each. 1) They could remain in their present area of operations, conducting "determined but mobile" resistance by sniper fire. 2) If the cease-fire were broken, they could conduct attacks with forces numbering up to several hundred, although such coordinated attacks on objectives would be seriously hampered by the lack of tactical communications equipment. 3) If forced from Santo Domingo, the rebels could conduct guerrilla operations at critical locations throughout the country. 4) If forced to flee Santo Domingo,

[1] Congressional Record, Senate, Sept 16, 1965, pp. 23311-14.

they could consolidate their forces in another area of the country, the most likely being Santiago, as it was the only other telephone center in the nation.[1]

As the crisis entered a political phase, it may also be said that the crisis ended. High-level attention reflected this in falling off markedly after the successful and surprisingly simple accomplishment of the LOC. Henceforth, the Dominican Republic was handled as a policy issue without the high urgency which had characterized the first week. The overwhelming force which the U.S. now disposed on the island (probably four times more than both sides combined, by the time the U.S. force levels reached their peak) clearly excluded any threat of a Communist seizure of power or even of a Communist capability to perform serious mischief.

A. THE PROBLEM OF RADIO SANTO DOMINGO

Even though the military threat of the rebels had been contained, they still had one weapon which they used with increasing stridency and skill. This was Radio Santo Domingo. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the LOC had narrowly missed including RSD within its limits. Apparently, its location was not known at the time Palmer decided on a route. Intelligence was woefully weak on the subject and the failure of the intelligence agencies to have full information on such a critical facility must be accounted as one of the most serious deficiencies in the whole Dominican affair. It was not even clear until much later that RSD was not a single station, but was several facilities in different locations -- studios, outlets, and transmitter sites.

[1] COMLANDFORDOMREP to CJTF 122, 032053Z May 1965, SECRET.

The subject of jamming RSD had apparently been under consideration from the beginning, but it was not until around 1000 on the 2nd that the CJCS informed the J-3 that the high command would like to try jamming. The rationale was that RSD was being used for propaganda purposes, and effectively so, while Radio San Isidro, the junta-controlled radio, was not. Jamming operations, however, should not hamper our own communications.

There was a mobile capability for jamming available, both in the form of a naval vessel and of aircraft. The CJCS wanted these equipments located and used first. [redacted] However, the impression in the JCS was that conventional military resources could do a great deal of the jamming because of the frequencies which the rebels were using. There was one critical caveat -- the jamming must be done without detection. While the rebels would know at once that they were being jammed, they might not be able to pin the blame on the U.S. unequivocally. Therefore, any inquiries were to be denied.

The JCS directed CINCLANT early in the afternoon of the 2nd to employ all resources to jam RSD to the maximum extent [redacted] JTF 122 commenced jamming at 1600 that day.[2]

Jamming operations were conducted with both Army equipment ashore and Navy equipment afloat over the next several days. From the start it proved difficult and only partially effective, so that from the 4th on consideration was given to the use of more direct means to deny RSD to the rebels. Palmer planned to use Special Forces units, but was told to wait for further consideration since any overt move of this sort could upset the new formal cease-fire which was signed

[1]JCS 1249 to CINCLANT, 021734Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2]CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 022336Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

on the 5th. It took several days to determine whether or not the jamming was effective. In the interim there was clearly no enthusiasm either in Washington or at CINCLANT for a more forceful approach to the problem.

It was even feared in State that the jamming alone could be counterproductive and inquiries were made by USIA as to whether or not jamming could be done on a selective basis. For example, USIA suggested that while voice broadcasts should be jammed, funeral dirges should not. (Presumably RSD was playing dirges in honor of the fallen rebels.) In passing this selective jamming instruction to CINCLANT, the CJCS said he "did not know particularly why dirges should be so honored and he didn't care to pursue the subject much further."

Suddenly at noon on the 4th the jamming was ordered halted, and consideration given to putting RSD out of business by simply cutting off all power to it, the Santo Domingo power plant being in U.S. hands. However, it was decided this could have serious adverse consequences, since there was no way selectively to cut off power to RSD alone. Furthermore, restoration of power to the whole city was seen as a major step toward normalcy. It was learned a couple of days later that RSD had auxiliary power facilities anyway.

Later on the 4th jamming was ordered renewed by USIA, following the results of a survey by a newly arrived technical team, which indicated that, theoretically, jamming could be fully effective.

[redacted][2]

It is not clear whether such a plan was devised, as events overtook the order. On the 13th junta aircraft, without the prior knowledge of U.S. authorities, attacked RSD and its main transmitter sites near the Peynado Bridge in a successful raid from which RSD

[1]USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 090045Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.
[2]JCS to CINCLANT, 132311Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

never fully recovered.[1] To smash further the rebel capability, junta special forces destroyed the #2 alternate studio and transmitter site north of the Duarte Bridge on the 14th. Thereafter, the rebels were denied effective broadcasts to the country as a whole and could only reach the city with a weak signal.[2] Nevertheless, they did retain some capability which we were never able to destroy completely.

The whole jamming episode is a confused one. Information on the rebel radio facilities was so sparse that there probably never was a really clear picture in Washington of the situation. As late as the afternoon of the 9th, for example, a week after the jamming issue was first raised, State cabled the Embassy for answers to four questions. If the RSD studios only some four blocks from the LOC were in friendly hands, would the rebels be unable to broadcast or could they establish studios elsewhere? Where is the precise location of the broadcasting tower or towers used by RSD? If the tower or towers are farther removed from the rebel zone than the studios, would their possession or destruction be a more efficient way of taking RSD off the air? How about the OAS taking over all radio facilities?[3]

It is interesting to note that Bennett's reply stated that it was his and Palmer's joint judgment that the best way permanently to deny facilities was to have the OAS Commission require that all radio facilities in the country be placed under its control.[4]

There was the other side of the propaganda coin, namely, U.S. efforts against the rebels. The U.S. effort really didn't get under way until the LOC was put through. By then Bennett was seriously concerned over the effectiveness of RSD. He called State on the morning of the 3rd about the need to communicate more with the

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[1]U.S. troops, initially thinking they were being attacked, shot down one of the aircraft.

[2]USCOMDOMREP Report.

[3]SecState to AmEmb, 091840Z May 1965, SECRET.

[4]AmEmb to SecState, 110215Z May 1965, SECRET.

Dominican people. They were friendlier to the U.S. than most Latin Americans, he felt, but the Communists were "pulling out the stops to change these attitudes" by whipping up a superficial form of anti-Americanism. There were only a few manifestations of change so far, and Bennett did not think the anti-American campaign would succeed. Nevertheless, the facts of the situation had to be presented to the Dominican people soon.[1]

The military psychological warfare program was placed under the control of a USIA officer who arrived on 4 May. As overall information controller, he also directed the jamming and other efforts aimed at denying the rebels their propaganda capability. There was initially some concern among the military when their operations were subordinated to USIA, but relationships developed smoothly and harmoniously.

In the long run the RSD story has a distinctive Dominican fairy tale flavor. The U.S. ceased jamming rebel transmitters on 24 May and, as part of the negotiations effort, thereafter the rebels were allowed equal radio time. This, however, was not on RSD but on OAS-developed broadcasting facilities, since Imbert reneged on his promise to turn over RSD, captured in his 14-21 May drive, to OAS control, and proceeded during the summer to use RSD for increasing critical comment on the U.S. presence.[2]

B. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

When the LOC was put through, the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic was already six days old. International political reactions had developed which initially caused the U.S. as much concern as the political situation with the Dominican Republic itself.

It was Latin America and the OAS which formed the focus of U.S. efforts to defend its actions. At the 1 May meeting of the OAS Council when the resolution establishing the Peace Commission had been passed, the Council had voted down a resolution demanding the

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 031135Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2] USCOMDOMREP, Report.

withdrawal of U.S. forces. Nevertheless, the diplomatic investigation launched by the U.S. to ascertain sentiment in Latin American capitals for the formation of an inter-American military force to take a role in Santo Domingo found discouragingly little favor.

To promote this suggestion further and to present justifications for the U.S. intervention, Ambassador-at-Large Harriman was dispatched to Latin America to visit Peru, Colombia, Argentina, and Brazil. The former Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress, Mr. Moscoso, was sent on a similar mission to Mexico and Venezuela.

The U.S. formally offered a resolution to the OAS Council on 3 May, authorizing formation of an inter-American force. The resolution requested OAS members to make military contingents available to the "meeting of consultation of the Foreign Ministers." These forces were to assist the OAS Peace Commission to carry out its mission of reestablishing peace and normal conditions in the Dominican Republic. The U.S. hoped that its own forces could be merged into the OAS force. The initial reception was mixed and only Brazil made a provisional commitment of troops.

The problem of "internationalizing" the situation and thereby placing an OAS imprimatur on the U.S. military presence was not helped by a statement by the President on 3 May in which he said the U.S. did not intend to allow the Communists to set up any government. The implication was of a very general U.S. right to intervention. The already extensive and vocal criticism of the U.S. intervention grew even more intense at what was termed the new "Johnson Doctrine." Other administration spokesmen backed away from this implied position and offered explanations that the feeble political structure in the Dominican Republic made it a special case, and that similar uprisings elsewhere in Latin America would not automatically result in such hasty intervention.

In this statement the President backed away from his earlier dogmatic assertion that the Communists had actually seized control of the revolt. He said only that they had tried to take control.

Other U.S. Government officials also began to indicate that the issue of the degree of Communist participation and control had never really been clear. Nevertheless, they insisted that there were certainly Communists present and so rather than wait for further evidence, a delay which could have been crucial, it was decided to intervene on the basis that prevention was much easier than cure.

However, the reaction to the implications of the President's comments showed that the Latin Americans were less convinced than ever. Despite this general fence-sitting position of the OAS states, there actually was remarkably little overt hostile reaction to the U.S. intervention. The warnings which State had earlier sent to all Latin American posts, and for their transmission to American businessmen in those countries, proved unnecessary. There were no serious riots or dangerous demonstrations anywhere in the continent, although standard student demonstrations did occur in Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Santiago.

In the meantime, the U.N. Security Council met on 3 May at the demand of the Soviet government for an emergency meeting. The Soviet Union introduced a resolution condemning the U.S. and demanding the withdrawal of U.S. forces on the grounds of open armed intervention in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic. Only the Uruguayan delegate supported the Soviet demand for withdrawal. Generally the Security Council supported the U.S. contention that the OAS was the proper organ through which to control the crisis and that it was already successfully doing so.

Ambassador Stevenson told the Council that the U.S. intervention had two aims: to protect U.S. lives and to give the inter-American system a chance to deal with a situation within its competence. He said that there had been no time for deliberate consultation and for the organization of international machinery which did not already

exist. He also gave the Council a list of three Communist-oriented political parties and nine Communist leaders who were trying to win control of the Dominican Republic.

It was not until 6 May that the U.S. attempt to create an OAS force succeeded when the ministerial meeting of the OAS voted 14-5 for the U.S. resolution with Venezuela abstaining. It was a bare two-thirds majority, but was, nevertheless, accounted a diplomatic victory for the U.S. Venezuela, Paraguay and Costa Rica immediately offered armed forces.[1] The U.S., to gain the necessary votes, had promised to withdraw some of its forces as soon as OAS force units could replace them and to place the entire U.S. force under the nominal control, although not active command, of the OAS.

The resolution in effect transformed the U.S. forces in the Dominican Republic from a national to an international force, which was the most immediate of the U.S. objectives in offering the resolution.

C. THE POLITICAL SCENE IN SANTO DOMINGO

Within the city, even before the LOC had gone through, there were signs that the mass weight of U.S. armament was already stabilizing things. One indicator was that at noon on the 2nd the Ambassador recommended to State that the evacuation which had been going on continuously since 27 April be halted and all embassies be so notified. He commented that all the foreign nationals arriving at the Embajador up to the previous evening had been evacuated and that a substantial number of foreigners but only a few Americans continued to arrive at the Hotel for evacuation. The majority of those now arriving were

[1] Venezuela's actions were generally curious. On 3 May two Venezuelan destroyers appeared in Santo Domingo and moved thence to San Juan with no clear explanation of their mission. Baffled U.S. Navy officers made provision for their participation in TF 124, but the two ships suddenly departed on 7 May, without having joined the TF.

The only other non-U.S. presence in the area up to this point had been that of the Canadian cruiser, HMCS Annapolis, which had arrived 1 May and remained in the Dominican Republic-Puerto Rico area prepared to evacuate Canadian nationals.

noted to be from countries with long waiting lists for immigration visas to the United States, and many of those seeking evacuation were found to have been on the immigration lists for years. Because of this suspicious development, the reduction in danger to U.S. and foreign nationals, and the availability of hotel accommodations in the ISZ, Bennett recommended ending the evacuation. If it were continued, there would be another 300-450 waiting to leave that day.[1]

By midday on the 3rd the OAS Commission had had time to look around. Mr. Bowdler of State, who had been assigned to support the Commission, reported their first reactions. They were appalled, he said, over conditions, and the Ambassadors of their own countries had told them that only the arrival of U.S. forces had saved the country from "chaos and a bloodbath." The initial reaction among the Commission and their advisors was that traditional atitudes toward non-intervention were "pure romanticism", and they were already talking among themselves in terms of a much greater OAS involvement.[2]

Bennett was also working at the problem of convincing not only the Commission, but as many other nations as possible. He reported that he had offered at a meeting of the Diplomatic Corps to transmit communications for any of his foreign colleagues "interested in getting to their capitals the truth about what was happening."[3]

Taking advantage of the Commission's first reaction, State on the afternoon of the 3rd told Bennett that an expansion of the ISZ, to include embassies not now included inside the safe area, was under consideration. He was asked to have the Ambassadors of such embassies both ask the OAS Commission to seek rebel agreement not to obstruct such an expansion and also notify their respective Foreign Offices.[4]

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 021515Z May 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 031450Z May 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 031135Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[4] SecState to AmEmb, 032049Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

The Ambassador reported the next day that this had been done. The OAS Commission had raised the issue with Caamano who had agreed. Accordingly, the JCS authorized CJTF 122 at 1800 on the 4th to extend the western edge of the ISZ four blocks to the east.[1] The expansion included within the ISZ the Ecuadorian and Salvadorian embassies, but the British, German, and Japanese embassies were too far downtown to be included. Palmer told CINCLANT that he would be prepared to make random patrols to these three embassies if it appeared feasible for insurance purposes.[2]

Once the expansion move was undertaken it was resisted by some snipers, and the rebels claimed it was a violation of the cease-fire. An OAS spokesman denied this, pointing out that the rebel commanders had agreed on the 3rd to the extension and had then even suggested additional blocks be added to assure safety from snipers. The rebel agreement was in the form of a note to the Commission and on this basis the Marines had advanced. Nevertheless, the job was carried through with only this light resistance and completed by nightfall on the 4th.

With the rebels penned in by U.S. forces, the chief American concern was to get some sort of government into operation both to erode rebel strength and to restore some measure of normality to the capital. On the morning of the 3rd State sent its thoughts and suggestions to Bennett and Martin. It seemed essential and urgent to State that the U.S.: (a) continue to avoid alienating the junta forces which were the only organized group in the country favorable to the U.S. position; and (b) that we begin to create an organization for building up as broad a base of popular support as possible for whatever provisional government might emerge from the present crisis. However, both Bennett and Martin had agreed that political hatreds were such as to leave little hope that the junta as presently

[1] JCS 1409 to CINCLANT, 042149Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] EA tapes.

constituted was the right group around which the Dominicans were likely to rally. State suggested a four-part program.

In line with a suggestion of Bennett, the junta could be expanded by two to five respected noncontroversial Dominicans, predominantly or wholly civilian. This would be a delicate operation and would have to be done in such a way as not to antagonize the junta. State offered a list of possible candidates with this suggestion. The junta should also consider whether it would be feasible to strengthen and unify command of the four branches of the armed forces so as to have a better base for reconstruction of the armed forces and police, which could then command the respect of the people and begin to restore order.

Thirdly, State suggested that the junta might organize temporary "Councils of the Provinces" which could assist in organizing and controlling the distribution of relief, thereby helping to get U.S. personnel into the countryside. Lastly, Bennett was asked whether there was any possibility of some kind of trusteeship, involving distinguished Latin Americans not of Dominican nationality. This was not likely, but should nonetheless be considered. Betancourt of Venezuela and Figueres of Costa Rica had suggested the idea.[1]

Bennett's attitude toward the rebels, and, to a degree, toward the junta too, was by the end of the 3rd fairly stern. He felt that Martin's public statement the day before to the effect that the rebels were now dominated by the Communists, a belief fully supported by the Embassy, had "made the position crystal clear. In our judgment, the new position leads us to the inescapable conclusion that we cannot now negotiate with the rebel leaders. Negotiations with the Communists can be justified when we have something to gain. Here we haven't. The rebels are hemmed in." Bennett was convinced that the American position and strength left the U.S. free to do things

[1]State to AmEmb, 031459Z May 1965, SECRET.

it thought ought to be done without prior consultation with the rebel leaders.

At the same time, Bennett pointed out, we were dealing with a weak junta which owed its survival to the U.S. We should not alienate the junta but we should move to influence the development of a smaller more professional military establishment which could serve as a constructive force in rehabilitating the country. He emphasized that Martin's statement had put the U.S. in a favorable position in dealing with both rebels and "loyalists" alike. This fact should be a basic principle in our future diplomatic and military efforts.[1]

[redacted]

However, it must be said in Bennett's defense that he was under no illusions as to the worth of the junta. His direct reply to the above-mentioned State message revealed his sentiments. He agreed that the junta held little prospect for rallying popular support. Above all it needed a couple of civilian members. Bennett stated flatly that the "old guard generals" must be ousted. The U.S. could not afford to be "overly solicitous as to junta sensitivities on the

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 040630Z May 1965, SECRET.

point of the composition of the military leadership. The most important problem was Wessin's retirement which should be encouraged but may not be possible."

The potentially risky situation in the provinces required action too. Work projects should be undertaken as soon as possible to provide employment, and relief supplies were in demand. Local governments should be supported and the desperate need to provide back pay for workers should be satisfied.

As to State's suggestion about using non-Dominican "wise men", he felt this would be ticklish. The Dominicans would resent any such arrangement and even a direct OAS trusteeship did not appear feasible at this point.[1]

A few hours later Bennett made a few recommendations. He claimed that the lack of reaction in the countryside showed that there was simply no popular national demand for Bosch. The majority of the people in the rebel zone were private individuals who were tired of the whole affair. The first priorities were to restore the government to a functioning organization and to restore the capital to normal. In pursuit of the first, the junta should be dealt with as the de facto successor to the Reid Cabral triumvirate government. As to the second, the U.S. should not impede movement, but should open the city to free traffic, subject to arms search. To reduce the number of loose weapons, the Ambassador suggested that ten dollars be offered for each weapon turned in to U.S. forces.

He concluded his message with a few comments on the communications problem facing him. In the earlier period of genuine urgency and crisis, his communications had been generally adequate, but now with the greatly increased number of American officials coming into Santo Domingo and having to communicate with Washington, a serious

[1]AmEmb to SecState, 040715Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

situation had developed. All channels to and from the Dominican Republic were overloaded and running hours late. For example, the first section of the text of the President's 2 May speech had been received at 1030 on 3 May, but the final section was not received until 2240 that day. Bennett was there without this important material all that day. Telephone, Bennett stated, was just as unsatisfactory as were Defense message channels. Not only did these delays affect his operations, but a serious public relations problem was developing with correspondents who tended to blame delays on the official U.S. monopoly of facilities.[1]

Up to this point the Bennett-Martin relationship with the OAS Commission had gone very well, with the Commission during its first day supporting the U.S. down the line. However, Bennett reported at 0400 on the 4th, after the first Commission meeting with the rebels, that the shift in the Commission's attitude which he had feared might take place when the "Communists talked to the OAS" had indeed occurred. The previous night, on their arrival, the Commission was thinking of finding a political solution to a most urgent situation. Today, Bennett reported, they had fastened on the idea of drafting a new cease-fire drawn up in great detail as to the delineation of zones occupied by the three forces (rebel, junta, and U.S.) and requiring obligations not to alter zones without the Commission's agreement.

Bennett felt this was a grave and exceedingly disadvantageous development which would tie U.S. hands. The Commission, he was sure, failed to see how a detailed cease-fire would play into the hands of the rebels. Furthermore, he suspected that behind the Commission's attitude was a reluctance to assume responsibility for making a recommendation that would in effect be an endorsement of U.S. military intervention. One member had told Bennett that "we recognize the imperative need for what you have done, but as Latin Americans it makes us very unhappy."[2]

[1]AmEmb to SecState, 041134Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[2]AmEmb to SecState, 040810Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

At this point the rebels executed an extremely shrewd political maneuver. On the day before, the 3rd, Bosch had announced from Puerto Rico that a constitutional congress in Santo Domingo had elected Col. Caamano president of the Dominican Republic under provisions of the constitution in effect when Bosch himself was deposed. The congressmen had voted 49-10 in Caamano's favor.

It would appear that the Embassy did not take this development seriously and, in truth, it certainly did have a rather hollow ring. At any rate, the following day Caamano was indeed formally sworn in as president in a full ceremony. Bosch had apparently given up his rights so that congress could elect a "constitutional president", and Caamano would serve out the unfinished balance of Bosch's term.

That the rebels had pulled off a coup is clearly evident from the urgent tones in Embassy and State cables on the matter. Bennett conceded that the rebels had seized the political initiative by announcing the formation of a provisional government. He urged that fast action be taken to counter the move. He had decided to suggest a broad-based junta including respected civilians representing all important sectors of Dominican society. The new junta would be headed by Imbert who appeared to the Embassy as the only man with the qualities to establish the authority of the new government.[1] Bennett had begun a series of wide-ranging conversations toward this end.[2]

State, in turn, warned all Latin American embassies that it anticipated efforts by the new Caamano government to seek recognition from the Latin American states. All posts were to discourage such recognition by "active measures". It was to be pointed out that the rebel government was a rump, a facade only, since the rebels controlled only a small portion of Santo Domingo and held no sway outside the capital.[3]

[1]

[2]AmEmb to SecState, 041730Z May 1965, SECRET.

[3]SecState to all Latin American embassies, 042103Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

Soon after midnight on the 5th Bennett reported some second thoughts on the sudden turn of events. He saw in the rebel proclamation of the provisional government a sign of weakness, sensing that it was actually intended to counter the U.S. establishment of the LOC. It was an effort, in short, to create an image in the face of overwhelming U.S. strength and of increasing rebel defections.

Nevertheless, he was taking immediate steps to promote the formation of a new provisional regime to replace the junta which had patently proven ineffective. What he sought was a "Government of National Reconstruction" (GNR), but his efforts were being hampered by a lack of civic mindedness and by the dominance of personal interests. He was trying first outside the forum of the OAS but would consult with them the next day if he had not yet achieved success.

He repeated that the Commission was now primarily interested in codifying the cease-fire, which would tie U.S. hands and create a serious problem.[1]

By the end of the 4th the Commission had prepared a draft of a new cease-fire, called the Act of Santo Domingo, which they presented to Bennett, asking U.S. cooperation in making it an effective instrument. The Ambassador cabled State that he felt a new cease-fire document was unnecessary and reiterated his conviction that it would reduce U.S. freedom of action. Yet the U.S. could not put itself in the position of refusing the Commission request. He suggested that he be authorized to deliver a note to the Commission, declaring that the U.S. had been cooperating under the 30 April cease-fire and would continue to lend full cooperation to the work of the Commission. Palmer concurred in this recommendation.[2]

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 050515Z May 1965, SECRET. It is interesting to note that as the crisis aged, the classification of Embassy messages was raised. In the early stages "unclassified" or "confidential" had been the rule, but with the great swarm of newsmen wandering around the Embassy, it was found that they were actually reading the Ambassador's mail and then reporting it verbatim in the public press. Consequently, every subsequent account of the crisis is filled with direct quotes from Embassy or State messages.

[2] AmEmb to SecState, 050255Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

The Act of Santo Domingo was signed by the junta and the rebels, but not by the U.S., late on the 5th. Presumably Bennett's method of avoiding signature had succeeded. Bennett was very disturbed, however, by the Commission's reference to the rebel government as the "constitutional government", a term which, though they affected it, he felt gave them unwarranted status.[1]

The act stated that parties who subscribed to the act:

"1. Would ratify the cease-fire of 30 April.

"2. Accept establishment of the ISZ.

"3. Assume the obligation of especially respecting the ISZ within which there is guaranteed, in a form which the OAS considers convenient, adequate protection and security of all persons who find themselves in that zone of refuge.

"4. Assume the obligation of giving necessary facilities to the International Red Cross or the international agency which the OAS designates in order to carry out in any part of the city of Santo Domingo or in the Dominican Republic the distribution of food or medicines sent as a result of the appeal made by the meeting of Foreign Ministers.

The parties also assume the obligation to provide all facilities which the OAS might request so that medical and public health personnel which the governments send can go to any part of Santo Domingo or the Dominican Republic to render their services.

"5. Assume the obligation of giving all necessary guarantees for the evacuation of those asylees from the Embassies or diplomatic missions which are requested.

"6. Assume the obligation of respecting the diplomatic missions and giving all the necessary cooperation to guarantee the security of all the personnel in those missions and the persons who have asylum or refuge in them.

"7. Declare to accept and recognize the full competence of the Special Commission appointed by the meeting of foreign ministers for the purpose of the faithful fulfillment of what is agreed to in this document."[2]

The act changed nothing as far as the U.S. was concerned, but only aided the rebels by providing them with an OAS status. Once the act was signed, four members of the Commission returned to Washington, leaving one member with Secretary General Mora to observe the maintenance of the agreement.

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[1] AmEmb to SecState, 050200Z May 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.

[2] AmEmb to SecState, 050250Z May 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.

The U.S. political effort about this time had three objectives: to undermine the rebel "government"; to establish a government of its own choice; to continue to attempt to justify the U.S. intervention.

[redacted]

The effort to undo the effects of the formation of Caamano's "constitutional government" continued full scale, with State providing other agencies with arguments to be used to discourage any foreign recognition. In a circular telegram to DOD, CIA, CINCLANT, CINCSOUTH

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 070630Z May 1965, SECRET.

and the White House on the 6th, State asserted that the U.S. refused to recognize any legality in the Caamano government. It had no basis in fact, since the Bosch constitution had been superseded and the country governed by the junta under the previous 1962 constitution. Even the OAS had recognized this. Caamano personally had no claim to the presidency. He had no control over the country, he had held no offices in line to the presidency, nor was he even a member of Bosch's party.[1]

The third aspect of the U.S. political endeavor, the creation of a Government of National Reconstruction, proved immensely difficult. The Ambassador's main problem lay in persuading good men to serve in the new government. The bitter truth was that the country was pitifully short of leadership resources, so that "good" candidates were men who in other societies would have been far beneath consideration for a senior government role. Bennett put it well when he said that there was a desperate shortage of good men to begin with and that when one had been found, he was reluctant to serve. "There were few good ones willing to serve, but a lot of poor ones more than willing." He did feel, however, that the junta had been impressed with the fact that the U.S. was not going to support the "old regime."[2]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[1] SecState to DOD, CIA, CINCLANT, CINCSOUTH, White House, 062133Z May 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.

[2] AmEmb to SecState, 060245Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

The concern about the countryside remained constant despite any concrete intelligence on which to base it. On the 8th State alerted Bennett and his relief distributor, Mr. Solomon of State, that the rebels were reported to be "gaining ground in La Romana." Food was short and steps should be taken to assist if investigation proved a need. State urged that the Embassy be especially alert to rebel activities in other areas outside the capital and be ready to act decisively to counter any.[2]

It might be mentioned here parenthetically that some American officials retrospectively felt that the countryside had been overwhelmingly in favor of Bosch's revolt, but that the fact that the police and military apparatus in the countryside remained intact and passive led to a similar general passivity and a fence-sitting role only.

By 8 May Bennett, by Herculean efforts, had managed to organize a new government, headed by Imbert, which was sworn in that day. Imbert asked all civil servants to return to work on the 10th so that public services could be restored, promising that salaries would be started that day. He also said that "the U.S. had not been consulted about his appointment" and that when an OAS force arrived, he wanted

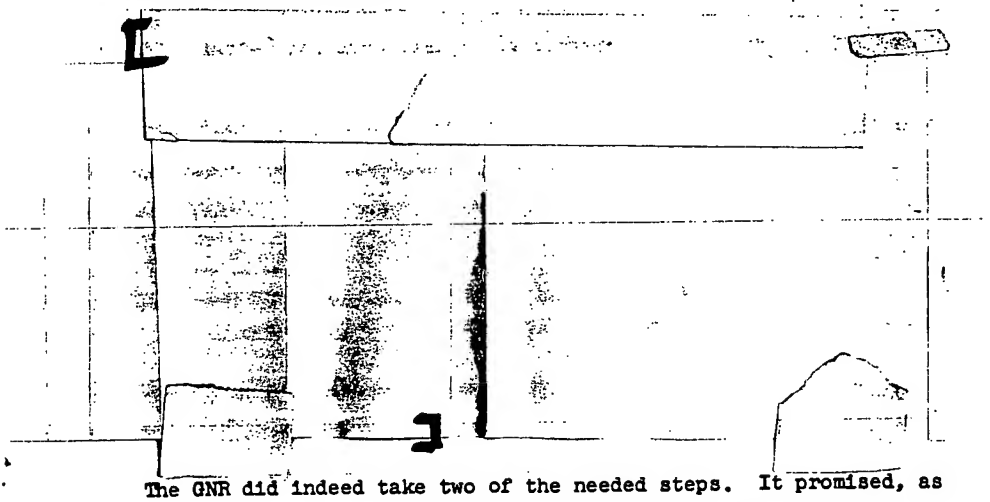
[redacted]

[2]SecState to AmEmb, 081949Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

U.S. troops to leave as soon as possible. Later he amended this statement to the effect that he considered U.S. forces part of the OAS force and so they could stay in the country until peace was fully established.

The State Department announced that the U.S. would recognize neither government at the moment, and intended to withhold any recognition until the OAS machinery had been moved into the country to restore order.

The Ambassador was hopeful of results. He felt that the creation of the Government of National Reconstruction (GNR) had recaptured the political initiative and if it could be made to function, time would no longer be on the side of the rebels. He so stated in his morning sitrep to the President on the 8th.[1] He hoped that over the weekend the GNR could accomplish some priority tasks such as the removal of Wessin and other "defunct" generals, the start of disarmament of the rebels under OAS auspices, and payment of civil servants, steps which might materially affect the GNR's image and the "U.S. decision in regard to recognition."[2]



The GNR did indeed take two of the needed steps. It promised, as mentioned above, to begin paying civil servants (the U.S. providing

[1] AmEmb to White House, 081144Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 081535Z May 1965, SECRET.

the funds) and it exiled six of the old guard generals, including Montas Guerrero, to Puerto Rico, and retired two more.[1] By their performance, neither heroic nor even professionally competent, there was general agreement among U.S. officials that these people deserved no better. By deserting Reid and allowing the government to collapse, they were in great measure responsible for the ensuing calamity. However, expectations in regard to Wessin were not so satisfactorily fulfilled. Wessin at first led Bennett to believe he would resign, but on the 11th Bennett learned that he had changed his mind and had refused to leave. Imbert supported him. The Ambassador was furious over what he considered a "definite double cross by Imbert," in addition to Wessin's breaking of his own word.[2] Wessin had earlier expressed his willingness to resign in a formal letter to Bennett, but had apparently changed his position following a conference with Imbert.

However, rather than directly challenge Wessin and Imbert, State recommended that the issue of Wessin's resignation be left as a matter between him and Imbert, for fear that it would damage the GNR "if it appeared that the U.S. was calling the shots."[3]

By the 10th Bennett and Palmer both evinced optimistic expectations that the situation would rapidly improve. The GNR would grow in strength while the trapped rebels would gradually drift away and their position erode to a point at which the GNR could reassert its control. It actually seemed as though they considered an early surrender as likely.[4]

However, Martin appears to have disagreed with them. He pointed out in a long cable on the 10th that the basic problem remained, even after the old guard military men had been shipped out. The revolt

[1] AmEmb to SecState, 091743Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 110530Z May 1965, SECRET.
[3] State to AmEmb, 110306Z May 1965, SECRET.
[4] Interviews, USCOMDOMREP and U.S. Embassy, Santo Domingo, 10 August 1965.

against the Reid government had been, at the outset, almost surely an attempt by the PRD leaders and others to reverse the coup against Bosch of September 23, 1963. At the time of that coup, the people did not protest. "The ideas of social and economic justice which Bosch promulgated, however, did mobilize the latent and legitimate revolutionary aspirations of the Dominican people, especially among the young." These were now being mobilized once more by the rebels. The GNR, Martin thought, might meet this problem by instituting wide reforms and by divorcing itself from discredited politicians and generals. He felt that Imbert could provide the strong hand needed now, and that current measures represented a good program, but only temporarily.

Martin stated that the situation had passed through two stages since his arrival - (1) the military cease fire to stop the bloodshed, (2) the formation of the GNR as an entity to counter the rebel government. We were now in a third stage, the political-military propaganda struggle between the rebels and the GNR. He then analyzed the comparative positions of the rebels and the GNR.

As for the rebels, he frankly stated that it was virtually impossible to assess their position with confidence. The Papal Nuncio and Secretary General Mora, and others, believed that Caamano realized his defeat and wanted out, but was a virtual prisoner of the extremists. On the other hand, other sources, "equally reliable and in some ways better informed," said the rebels were confident of victory. It was not impossible, Martin warned, that both views contained truth and changed from hour to hour. He said that he had quietly opened lines to Caamano in an effort to arrange his surrender or at least to open negotiations with Imbert, but with little real hope of success.

Unquestionably, Martin felt, the rebels held a major propaganda advantage, especially through RSD. The demonstrations being daily organized were not so much pro-Bosch as anti-American. The rebels

were linking in the public mind constitutionality with food and jobs, and were striving to consolidate their political position as champion of the masses against the U.S. military - San Isidro military - upper-class and middle-class government. They were far ahead of us in this contest.

As to the GNR, Martin spoke of the struggle to find good men while trying to rid the GNR of its "old guard image". To help counter the rebel image of the GNR as just another "reactionary business-class government with a military strong man overlay," Martin admitted that "the Ambassador and I had helped arrange and the Attaches helped carry out the deportation of the old generals, and tomorrow or tonight that of Wessin who has become a symbol, rightly or wrongly, to the masses of military opposition to constitutionality and the aspirations of the masses."

Martin suggested an interim policy for the U.S. for the next couple of weeks which called for all-out support of the GNR short of recognition, meanwhile waiting to see if any new political constellations or figures appear, free of Communist domination, who might mobilize the aspirations of the masses. He believed bloodshed had "destroyed" the old parties and political figures, and he warned that the U.S. be careful not to get locked into any firmer a position than his recommended policy would do.

As to U.S. troops, even though the cloak of the OAS force helped greatly, he recommended that we get U.S. forces out as soon as possible and make every effort to avoid a full-scale military occupation, even under the OAS auspices, unless nothing else could prevent a Communist take-over. By as soon as possible, he meant, hopefully, six months or less, or as long as it took a Dominican government to restore order and for us to help it retrain and restructure its armed forces.

He gloomily forecast that whatever government emerged, the U.S. must continue playing a strong political role in the Dominican Republic.

It must retain troops there as long as necessary. The process of disintegration, Martin asserted, had gone so far that the Dominican Republic alone could not reorganize its affairs for a long time without assistance.[1]

Ambassador Martin remained on the scene for four more days and then departed for good on the 14th.

[1] AmEmb(Martin) to SecState, 100520Z May 1965, SECRET.

XII. CONCLUDING MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

During these days of negotiation and political activity, the several incomplete aspects of the military picture were filled out.

A. COMMAND ORGANIZATION

It will be recalled that Palmer had assumed control of all Army and Marine forces at 1700 on the 1st, although he was unable, because of communications problems, to exercise full command right away. He was to be COMLANDFORDOMREP, but this title was dropped in favor of CTF 120. Palmer's difficulties in taking over his command and the consequent confusion in information flow led to an insistence from Washington that a more direct relationship be arranged speedily.

On the 4th, CINCLANT directed a new set of command relationships to be effective at 0100 on the 5th. These were to be interim arrangements only. Palmer with the Army and Marine units now assigned to CTF 120 would report directly to CINCLANT as CTF 120 and COMLANDFORDOMREP. He was to use the title CTF 120 in all his communications. Masterson was to retain the command of JTF 122 with the forces currently assigned less those assigned to Palmer's command.[1]

In short, Palmer had become co-equal with Masterson who commanded TF 121 and TF 124. In the case of the latter, Captain Dare who had commanded TG 44.9 from the very outbreak of the crisis, was replaced on the 4th by Vice Admiral McCain, Commander Amphibious Forces Atlantic. McCain was senior to Masterson but nevertheless was willing to operate under him.

This was an intermediate step toward the final establishment of USCOMDOMREP. There was apparently some disagreement on Masterson's

[1] CINCLANT to CJTF 122 and CTF 120, 041808Z May 1965, SECRET.

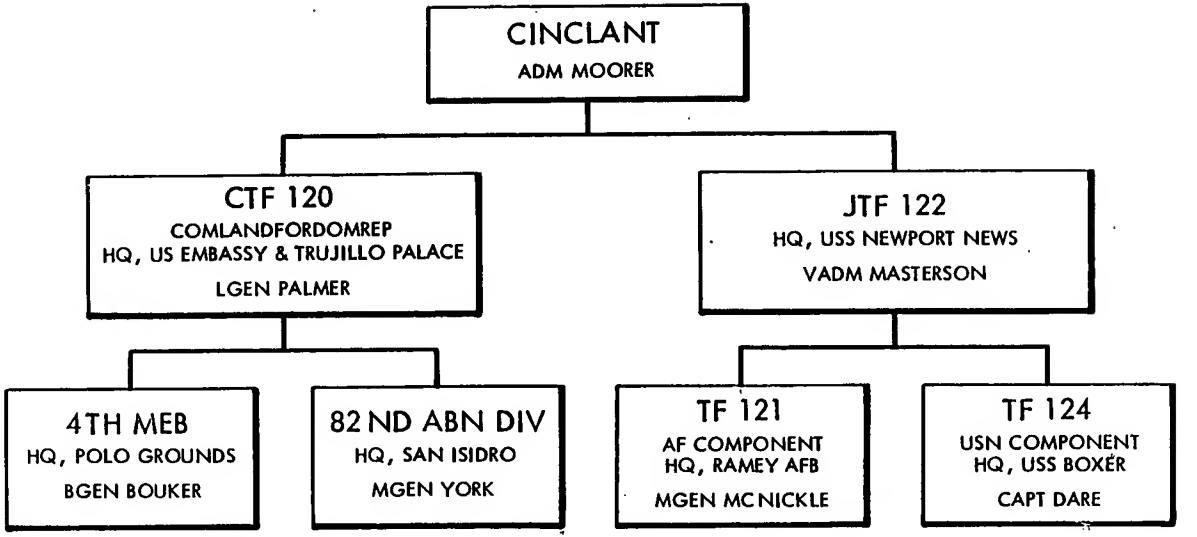


FIGURE 4. Command Structure 5-7 May

role. CINCLANT later complained that the intermediate step had been unnecessary and bothersome, that the placing of all ground forces under Palmer prior to the dissolution of CJTF 122, had produced no substantial benefits and had unnecessarily confused command lines for three days. CINCLANT's position was that JTF 122, including the land forces (CTF 120), should have remained intact until USCOMDOMREP, as eventually constituted, was ready to assume command.

USCOMDOMREP was not activated until 7 May. CINCLANT claimed that the key to this was the availability of Palmer's communications facilities, that the delay had been with Palmer's full agreement, and that there was no alternative but to keep the overall control on the scene in the hands of CJTF 122 who did have complete communications facilities aboard his flagship.

This position has been disputed on the basis of solid evidence. Masterson's communications throughout the crisis had repeatedly proved inadequate, and by the time he moved to the NEWPORT NEWS, the crisis had passed. Secondly, his separation from the Embassy, the heart of the U.S. operation, had been a constant difficulty.

It will be noted that under the interim structure Masterson was left in command of the Air Force Task Force. Palmer strongly opposed this and insisted upon full control of all in-country forces.

The final reorganization occurred on the 7th. Effective 1200 that day JTF 122 was dissolved. TF 120 was also dissolved and Palmer "with the Army forces under his command" was designated Commander U.S. Forces in Dominican Republic (USCOMDOMREP). In addition to the Army forces, the CINCLANT message ordering the new command arrangement rather ambiguously stated that elements of the AF forces, naval forces, MAAG, and JACCC within the country would be "attached to" USCOMDOMREP. While the Marines weren't specifically mentioned they, with the Army troops, were to be under Palmer's command.

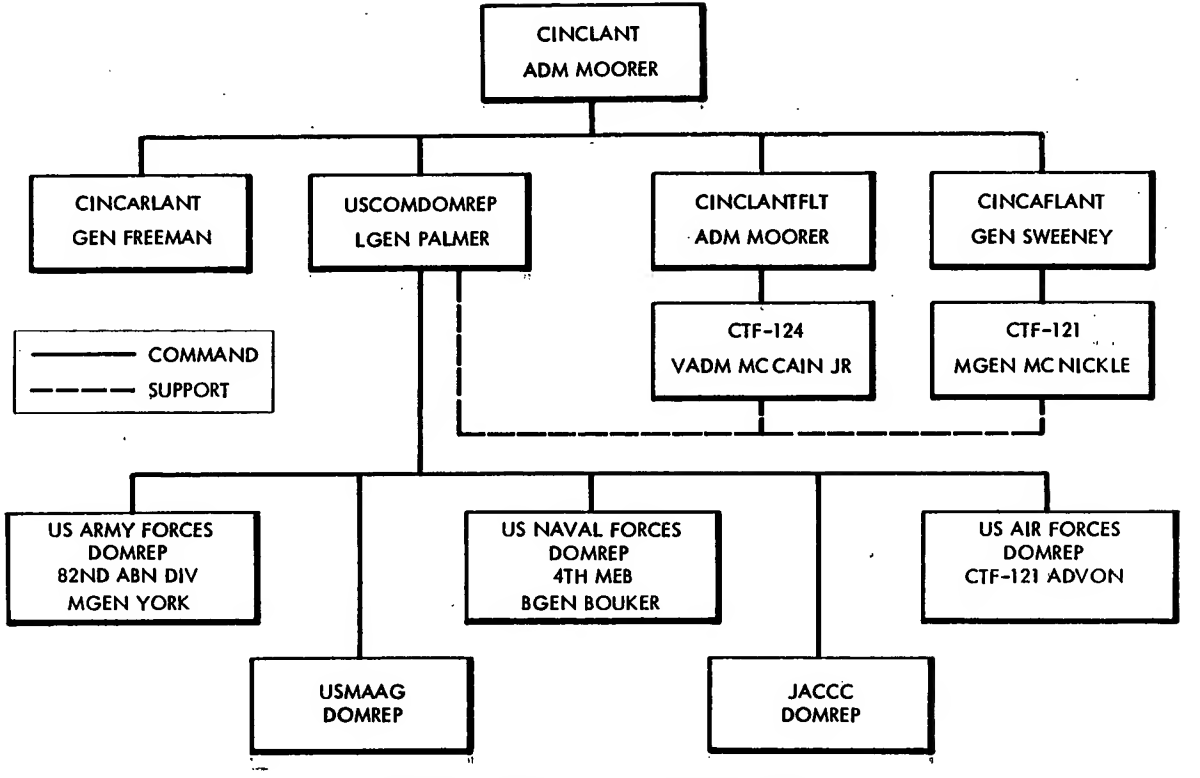


FIGURE 5. Command Structure after 7 May 1965

As U.S. forces presently within the Dominican Republic were relieved, detached, or withdrawn, and departed the country, they were to revert to the command of the appropriate component commander-in-chief under CINCLANT. As additional forces were furnished for duty within the country, they would become elements of the Army forces under USCOMDOMREP, or became elements of the AF forces, naval forces, MAAG, or JACCC attached to USCOMDOMREP. The instruction stated that it was its intent that all Army, Navy, and Air Force forces physically within the Dominican Republic come under USCOMDOMREP and that Army, Navy, and Air Force forces designated for Power Pack but not physically located within the Dominican Republic remain under their component commanders-in-chief under CINCLANT.

USCOMDOMREP would:

a. Conduct military operations as directed by CINCLANT.

b. Conduct civil affairs and psywar as directed by CINCLANT in coordination with the Ambassador.

c. Coordinate military operations with recognized Dominican military leaders to the extent that this did not contravene the aims of the U.S.

d. Operate, or delegate the operation of a JACCC in the Dominican Republic for all air operations entering, over, or departing the Dominican Republic.

e. CTF 121 and CTF 124 would remain under CINCAFLANT and CINCLANTFLT respectively to support USCOMDOMREP. USCOMDOMREP was directed to effect direct liaison with CTF 121 and CTF 124 to levy operational support requirements, keeping CINCLANT and respective component commanders-in-chief informed. The instruction stated that CTF 121 and CTF 124 support USCOMDOMREP.

CINCLANT reserved the prerogative of directing, through the component commanders-in-chief, the actions of CTF 121 and CTF 124

should there be a military involvement with other powers in the Caribbean.[1]

The last item in the CINCLANT instruction is interesting. CINCLANT was concerned lest Cuba intervene both indirectly and directly in the Dominican imbroglio, and ship patrols along the Dominican coasts had been designed to provide surveillance in case the Cubans attempted to send in weapons and supplies to the rebels. By the 10th, a heavy air surveillance system was in operation, with U.S. destroyers on a distant search and the Dominican navy being used for inshore patrol. This fear presupposed an up-country rebel organization to receive and use the weapons, and this, as we have seen, did not, by all evidence available exist. However, this concern could potentially have made more sense than that of possible Cuban air or naval interference which CINCLANT also apparently nourished. On the 5th the JCS wired CINCLANT that it recognized the threat of Cuban MIGs and also the very limited air defense capability of the Power Pack forces. To meet this threat, the JCS was considering the deployment of a squadron of F-104As to Ramey.[2] This squadron was sent to Ramey on the 7th.

CINCLANT later explained its reasons for the limitations of USCOMDOMREP authority to the boundaries of the Dominican Republic on two grounds. The first was to insure that USCOMDOMREP was not involved in any Cuban actions since "the proximity of the two islands made it quite possible that Cuban aircraft and Cuban ships might be operating in the seas and in the airspace in the vicinity of the Dominican Republic. CINCLANT purposely reserved to himself the prerogative of controlling operations relating to Cuban forces." Secondly, CINCLANT imposed the limitation in order that there not be necessary a later readjustment when the OAS force came into being. It would be extremely awkward, CINCLANT suggested, if the OAS force were to be involved inadvertently in matters impingeing on either Cuban or Haitian affairs.[3]

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[1]CINCLANT to CINCAFLANT, CINCARLANT, CTF 122, CTF 124, CTF 120, CTF 121, 070010Z May 1965, SECRET.

[2]JCS 1457 to CINCLANT, 051529Z May 1965, SECRET.

[3]CINCLANT to JCS, 142056Z May 1965, SECRET.

The cryptic comment on Haiti is also interesting, but nothing has been found which explains it.

During the course of the crisis, the command arrangements had passed through three stages as the character of the operation changed. Initially, support of the Ambassador in the evacuation had been given by CINCLANT with assigned forces operating under the naval component, U.S. Atlantic Fleet. When the U.S. objective became more clearly the prevention of a feared Communist takeover, the JCS had chopped Army and Air Force units to CINCLANT, and JTF 122 had been established directly under CINCLANT to command all Army, Navy, and Air Force forces being introduced into the island. When the scope of deployments threatened to exceed vastly the original OPLAN, when the inadequacies of the JTF had become manifest, and when the operations of U.S. forces ashore had become localized, JTF 122 had been dissolved and USCOMDOM-REP established to control all U.S. forces in the Dominican Republic and to conduct operations, supported by Air Force and naval forces under their respective component commanders.

B. FORCES DEPLOYED

The President's acute awareness of the political sensitivity of the whole affair led him to attempt to gather up as many Spanish-speaking American soldiers as could be found for duty in the Dominican Republic. During the first week in May the problem was examined by the SecDef and it was clear that the difficulties involved in drawing men from disparate units were insuperable. State also suggested the use of Puerto Rican National Guard units to replace U.S. forces, but this too appeared infeasible. CINCSOUTH (where numerous Spanish-speaking Americans had designedly been sent for duty) offered these men, but again they were too integrated in regular units to be separated and usefully reformed into new units.

As early as the 5th it was quite clear that no additional forces would be necessary beyond the 82nd and the MEB, support units of which were still coming in, so the JCS authorized CINCLANT to establish an appropriate Defcon for all forces nominated for OPLAN 310/2 but not actually engaged in operations.[1] Three hours later the JCS specifically directed CINCLANT to return all such forces to normal operations and operational control.[2]

However, support forces continued to move into the island. Finally, on the 14th the JCS, in a cable to CINCLANT, noted that the logistics elements and support units requested by USCOMDOMREP had now substantially closed the area, and requested CINCLANT to monitor closely all future introductions of U.S. personnel and equipment and to hold such to the minimum commensurate with the task. CINCLANT was to coordinate the introduction of any additional forces and equipment with the JCS.[3]

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[1] JCS 1495 to CINCLANT, 052014Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] JCS to CINCLANT, 052358Z May 1965, SECRET.
[3] JCS to CINCLANT, 142128Z May 1965, SECRET.

Concern apparently had arisen in political quarters over the continuing troop deployments at a time when the crisis was clearly past and the issue of troop withdrawals already under discussion.

C. THE OAS FORCE

The OAS force was highly significant in a political sense. It was the first occasion on which an inter-American ground combat force had been created, deployed and involved in operations. However, nearly all the activity involved in this enterprise came after the period of interest for this study, after, that is, the middle of May. Nevertheless, certain interesting planning activities did get under way at an earlier date.

The OAS, on the morning of 6 May, had voted the establishment of a Latin American peace-keeping force, an action which opened a new phase in Dominican operations and a new direction in the relationship of the OAS members. In preparation for this development, the JCS undertook certain studies relating to force contributions and command structure. Plans were also made for the bulk of the logistics requirements to come from U.S. sources. In addition to the JCS studies, the Inter-American Defense Board undertook, at the request of the OAS, similar studies on the form of the peace-keeping force, and made recommendations paralleling those of the JCS.

It will be recalled that the effort to arouse Latin American interest in an OAS force and to elicit troop contributions had commenced early in the crisis. Not merely had the senior State Department missions toured the major capitals in this regard, but every U.S. ambassador in Latin America had been instructed to exert the utmost pressure in this direction. Since the whole effort was improvised and with no background of thought or preparation, the Latin Americans were cautious and insisted upon more specifics from the U.S.

State had numerous inquiries from its ambassadors as to the types of forces the Latin states might supply, and requested JCS recommendations. The JCS passed the request to CINCLANT, asking recommendations

on: (1) size and type of forces and how they should be equipped; (2) command structure under which they would operate; (3) source of logistic support; (4) total forces required. CINCLANT was told that as an initial input he was to consider forces from Argentina and Brazil as priority, although the whole evaluation was needed as soon as possible.[1]

CINCLANT replied the following day with his suggestions. In the matter of size and type of forces and equipment he recommended that for Argentina and Brazil, company-size units were preferred with the maximum limited to a battalion, while for all other countries he recommended the minimum deemed necessary to achieve political objectives. The forces should be infantry/military police in nature, trained in counterguerrilla and riot control techniques, with equipment that should as far as possible be compatible with American equipment. Naval participation should be limited to one or two destroyers or comparable types per country for use in coastal patrol. Participation by OAS air units was not desired at present because of limited facilities.

The command structure envisioned by CINCLANT was essentially that set forth in the 310/2 OPLAN with contributed forces under the operational command of the appropriate task force commanders.

Logistic support should be provided by the Latin American states within their capabilities, with additional support to be provided by the U.S. Service counterpart.

CINCLANT again emphasized that total forces should be kept to a minimum deemed necessary for political purposes with initial emphasis laid on obtaining ground units that were readily identifiable and visible to the press and to the Dominican people.[2]

[1] JCS to CINCLANT, 040111Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] CINCLANT to JCS, 041602Z May 1965, SECRET.

On the 7th CINCLANT amplified his views on the command structure. In the intervening three days, the Inter-American Peace Force (IAPF), as it was now termed, had become more of an entity and so CINCLANT could be more specific. He recommended that the commander of the IAPF be authorized to accept under his command in the Dominican Republic such forces as might be made available to him by the U.S. or the Latin states and to employ these to achieve the aim of the OAS. He recommended that Palmer be designated commander or deputy commander of the IAPF, but that he should, in any event, retain command of U.S. forces as USCOMDOMREP. As for air and naval contributions, these should be assigned to TF 124 and TF 121 and organized as IAPF units within the task forces.[1]

The JCS approved on 7 May the concept of an IAPF, and generally supported CINCLANT's recommendations in JCSM-344-65 to the SecDef the following day. The American military generally were reluctant to commit the operational control of U.S. forces to Latin American hands. They did not object to subordinating Palmer to the titular command of a Latin American officer[2]

[1]CINCLANT to JCS, 072058Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2]AmEmb to SecState, 150512Z May 1965, SECRET.

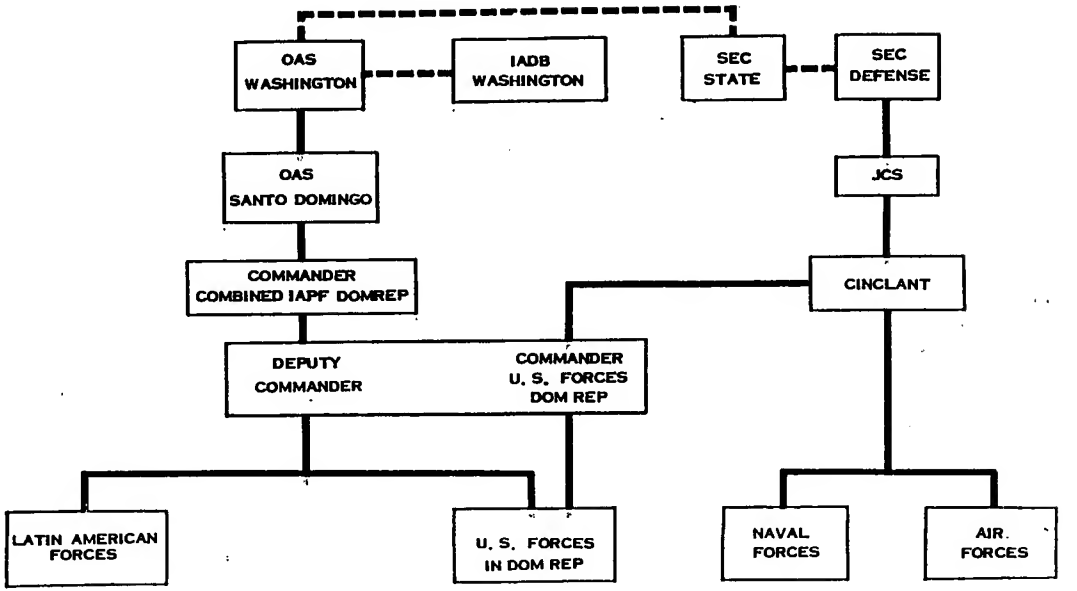

FIGURE 6. Command Sturcture of the Inter-American Force

An act formally establishing the Inter-American Force (IAF - a third name) was signed on the 23rd in Santo Domingo. General Hugo Panasco Alvim of the Brazilian Army (he was Chief of the Department of Production and Works) was designated commander and Palmer Deputy Commander. This followed by two days the Brazilian government's approval of a contingent of 1350 troops for the IAF. General Alvim arrived on the 29th and was sworn in as Commander IAF on the 31st.

Operation PRESS AHEAD, as the deployment of the IAF units was named, began with the arrival in Santo Domingo on 14 May of a Honduran rifle company plus a military police platoon and a medical section, a total of 250 men. This was followed on the 15th by a Costa Rican Civil Guard platoon. It's deployment typified the problems involved in PRESS AHEAD. The commander of the MILGROUP in San Jose had notified CINCSOUTH on the 13th that Costa Rica was prepared to contribute a 21-man force to the IAF, each man armed with a .38 caliber revolver and a basic load of ammunition for it. The men had nothing else - no bedding, mess kits, ponchos. However, the President of Costa Rica had asked that 5 Costa Rican newsmen be allowed to accompany the 21-man platoon to record the historic event, since this was the first overseas deployment of Costa Rican troops.[1]

A Nicaraguan rifle company of 164 men also arrived on the 15th. The Brazilian force, consisting of a headquarters, an infantry battalion, a reinforced marine company, a marine military police platoon, and an air force detachment arrived in Santo Domingo between the 23rd and the 26th. On the 21st the Nicaraguans and Hondurans were moved into the ISZ to prepare to take over part of that sector, while on 2 June IAF troops assumed control of the demilitarized zone around the National Palace (agreed to by the GNR and the rebels). The first IAF operations were OAS MP patrols - Costa Rican, Honduran, and U.S. - around the ISZ, beginning on 24 May. IAF observer teams, composed of Latin American officers, were also formed for the investigation of cease-fire violations. These teams quickly established

[1]COMUSMILGRP Costa Rica to CINCSOUTH, 131530Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

liaison with Imbert, Caamano, and the U.S. forces, and were operational by 26 May. Their all Latin American membership made liaison with the rebels easier. On 11 June the west central sector of the ISZ was turned over to the "Latin American Brigade" of Nicaraguans and Hondurans. By this date there were some 1600 Latin American troops in Santo Domingo.[1] Later during the summer a Paraguayan rifle company was to join the IAF.

D. U.S. CONTINGENCY PLANNING

Throughout the first two weeks in May, the U.S. forces had been under intermittent fire. Rebel violations of the Act of Santo Domingo seemed to increase daily after its signing on the 5th. Combined with this was a persistent fear among the American command of some rash move by the rebels which would decide the U.S. to breach the cease-fire and, by a single military blow, end the whole deadlock. Palmer reported on the 8th that he was collecting violations of the cease-fire by the rebels to provide the Ambassador with ammunition in the event the decision were made to breach the cease-fire and to take military action. Palmer said he had plans ready and adequate forces and could "clean out the city if this is so directed." Personally, however, he didn't feel that the rebels could take the present pressure indefinitely and hoped "we can win this one in a relatively peaceful manner without great loss of life."[2]

The next day Palmer expanded on his thoughts. He commented that with the additional staff officers provided him by CINCLANT, he felt he had a more representative joint staff and could organize a more comprehensive effort in directing operations and activities. He said that the whole Country Team felt that the U.S. could maintain pressure on the rebels for four or five days more with acceptable risks in the form of economic unrest and civil disorder in Santo Domingo. Since the city played the key role in the nation's economy, the free flow of

[1] NMCC Operational Summaries.
[2] USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 080150Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

labor, money and goods into the city was vital. On the other hand, such freedom of movement conflicted with the U.S. desire to maintain psychological, military and political pressure on the rebel area.[1]

The U.S. pressure continued all around the rebel area with a tight control on all goods entering the rebel zone. The rebel area itself was further compressed when on the 10th Bennett requested State's permission to move the ISZ line one block further east to stop fire hitting the U.S. Embassy and French Embassy. The move had been approved by Mora who suggested that it be done, and then approval was sought from the OAS Commission, in order to avoid any negotiation with the rebels. Bennett warned, parenthetically, that to the extent that we treated both sides alike, we strengthened the rebels and their will to resist, at the very moment when we had been hoping to defect some of their top leadership.[2] In any event, the commission approved the move (whether before or after the act has not been determined), while Caamano raised no objections and pulled back his forces. The eastward extension was completed at 2200 on the 13th.[3]

As the days passed with no perceptible concrete change in the situation, a few of the inevitable unpleasant incidents took place involving U.S. troops and unarmed Dominican civilians. The Administration in Washington, already under severe political pressure for its Dominican intervention, reacted with a demand for a 24-hour sitrep daily on such incidents or on any which cast discredit on the U.S. Even negative reports were desired.[4] The sensitivity of the Administration on this point merely reflected the fear that this sort of thing might grow worse as time passed in the deadlock status.

The tenor of Palmer's messages also contributed to the sense of concern. Early on the 13th, for example, he reported that he and

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[1] USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 090340Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.
[2] AmEmb to SecState, 101715Z May 1965, SECRET.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 122045Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.
[4] JCS 2038 to CINCLANT, 132032Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

Bennett had met with the OAS Commission to review the situation since the return of the full membership of the Commission. His impression was that the Commission did not hold much hope for a successful political solution at this time. Thus Palmer felt military action might be required to break the stalemate and to make some progress toward stability.[1]

The concern over the possibility of actual fighting was evident in messages from State around this time. There was an openly stated belief that "we could not afford another Budapest." The analogy between U.S. troops clearing the rebel zone and the Russians demolishing the Freedom Fighters in Hungary in November 1956 was more than merely academic. Underlying the State concern was the belief, based upon exaggerated estimates of rebel strength, that rebel resistance would equate with that of the Hungarians. Perhaps the greatest irony of the whole Dominican crisis is that the same exaggeration which brought the U.S. into the affair, exaggeration of rebel strength, Communist influence, damage and dead in the city, also may have prevented the U.S. from a swift military solution to the problem. Overestimates of rebel strength and capability produced estimates of civilian and rebel dead, plus possible destruction to the city, which were completely unacceptable politically.

The constant sniper fire plus several incidents in which U.S. troops were shot when they inadvertently entered the rebel zone added to the frustration of the U.S. military. Above all, the belief that a stalemate could not last indefinitely apparently was the basis for the spurt of contingency planning at this time. No single origin for the orders to Palmer has been found, and it is hard to imagine that he was directed to prepare such plans without State's approval. Apparently a piece of paper was required in Washington which provided a feel for what was involved in an operation to smash the rebels and to provide a basis for further discussions. At any rate the JCS on the 10th directed CINCLANT to prepare a plan as soon as possible to take the rebel stronghold if directed.[2]

[1]USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 130645Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2]JCS to CINCLANT, 101626Z May 1965, SECRET.

CINCLANT passed the order to Palmer who forwarded a plan to CINCLANT eight hours after the original JCS instruction. The plan is of major interest since it reflects the then current estimates of the U.S. command in Santo Domingo on a number of key facets to the situation. Palmer's "derived" mission was to conduct operations to clear the city of armed rebels and to restore law and order in order to assist in the establishment of a stable government. His estimate of the rebels put four-fifths of their forces (about 1000-1500 of these being "hardcore") in the southeast portion of the city, the remaining one-fifth in the north and west sectors. He believed that the rebels' most probable course of action was to defend in place; exploit the situation for propaganda and political purposes; go underground in the city; and when necessary or appropriate, to counterattack along the Calle de Marzo in an attempt to break through the U.S. position and then scatter to the hills to the north and west.

As for the GNR forces, Palmer mentioned only that 500 army and police held the National Palace. Other friendly troops were available but were not planned for use in the operation.

His concept of operations was to isolate the city completely to prevent the escape of rebels and to cut their LOC into the city. Isolation would consist of the establishment of a tight blockade through the city and by the establishment of a screen east of the Ozama from the Duarte Bridge to the Peynado Bridge and the Rio Isabella. This latter operation would be a helicopter assault, employing a three-battalion brigade and a cavalry squadron to help screen along the rivers.

After the isolation of the city, the 4th MEB and the rest of the 82nd Division would conduct a coordinated search and clear operation south and east to the sea to capture rebel forces there. The attack could be halted at any time the rebels wished to surrender. After completion of this operation, the area to the north would be cleared. In all cases minimum firepower would be employed. Palmer visualized

that the operation could be carried out with the forces ashore. He was aware that the GNR had made some plans of their own to regain control of the city, but it was doubtful that they had either the will or the capability to carry them out.

Quick-reaction forces to meet situations arising elsewhere in the country had been established, and since all the force ashore might be utilized in the seizure of the city, Palmer suggested that it might be necessary to call on the BLT afloat as a quick-reaction force. To secure San Isidro airfield during the operation against the city, the plan visualized the use of one artillery battalion of the 82nd, organized as infantry and ashore without their guns, plus two other artillery battalions and an engineer battalion not otherwise employed in the city operation.[1]

On the arrival of the plan at CINCLANT, some concern was expressed over its caution, especially over the restricted use of firepower, CINCLANT fearing consequent U.S. losses would be severe. However, CINCLANT sent the plan on to the JCS, terming it acceptable with certain comment. USCOMDOMREP should use all available U.S. forces including tanks, air support, air reconnaissance, and naval gunfire in such a way and as necessary to reduce U.S. losses while achieving the objective. CTF 121 and CTF 124 would be ready to assist. Any civilians found opposing U.S. forces would be treated as enemies and dealt with accordingly. Execution of the plan would require strong public information support which must be directed from Washington. Lastly, the clear current aim should be the elimination of the hard-core Communist element which should not be allowed to escape and melt into the populace.[2]

CINCLANT apparently took the JCS request for a plan more seriously than it was intended. The intent of the JCS, to have something on

[1]USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 110450Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2]CINCLANT to JCS, 111258Z May 1965, SECRET.

paper and in hand, was made clear to CINCLANT by the Vice J-3 who pointed out that the plan "met the requirement and was just going to remain status quo." There was nothing "pushing" the plan at all.[1]

The following day, the 12th, the JCS were surprised to receive an information copy of a Joint State Defense Message from State to Bennett. It asked for a contingency plan for the resumption of normal operations in the industrial sector in the northern part of the city. No decision would be made, however, to implement such a plan until it had become clear that the current OAS efforts to achieve a coalition government had failed. The northern area had to be freed from fighting in order to get the economy running again. What was involved was really the establishment of an additional safety zone. The message requested Bennett's reactions as to the local political effects, while the military command was to estimate the additional forces required to establish and to maintain the extended perimeter, along with an estimate of casualties, U.S. and rebel.[2]

Again, the origin of this idea is unclear. Presumably the continuing political deadlock with the resultant slow strangulation of the economy, not merely of the city but of the whole country (Dominican industry, such as it was, being concentrated around the capital city), led to thoughts among the U.S. command in Santo Domingo of a U.S. military operation which would liberate at least this vital portion of the city, if not totally smash the rebels the way the above-mentioned plan would have.

The initial JCS reaction was one of concern that no mention had been made of coordination with the JCS in this purely military activity. It was not even clear who represented "Defense" in the message.[3] Representations were apparently made, although the record does not reveal them, and a formal message from "OSD" to the JCS on

[1]EA tapes, 11 May.
[2]SecState to AmEmb, 121757Z May 1965, SECRET.
[3]EA tapes, 12 May.

the 13th specified that the JCS had responsibility for the military planning aspects of the State/Defense message.[1] The JCS, in turn, directed CINCLANT that the military plan or plans submitted in response to the State/Defense message be forwarded to the JCS for review, approval, and coordination with appropriate agencies.[2]

The Ambassador sent to State on the 15th the joint Embassy/USCOMDOMREP plan for the seizure of the northwest area of the city. As to political reactions, all he could say was that there were too many unknowns to make a meaningful prediction.[3]

Palmer, in the meantime, forwarded the military plan to CINCLANT for review as per instructions. His plan called for a simple three-phase operation. Phase I extended the present LOC to seize and secure the still bothersome main RSD station; Phase II extended the ISZ north to seize and secure a line of departure for operations to the north; Phase III was an attack north to destroy rebel forces there and to capture the industrial complexes.[4]

The JCS queried CINCLANT as to whether, in the event that he was directed to take over the northern portion of the city, this was the plan he desired to implement, or whether he had modifications or alternatives. He was also asked how long it would take him to move after receiving the execute. An overall assessment of the plan was requested.[5]

However, CINCLANT had anticipated the JCS request and had sent such at the very same moment as the JCS message went out to him. He stated that the concept of operations was considered feasible and desirable, and that his only modification was to suggest that the entire LOC be wired in to prevent any crossing except at specified

[1] OSD to JCS, 131315Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2] JCS to CINCLANT, 131718Z May 1965, UNCLASSIFIED.
[3] AmEmb to SecState, 140130Z May 1965, SECRET.
[4] USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 140609Z May 1965, SECRET.
[5] JCS to CINCLANT, 141718Z May 1965, CONFIDENTIAL.

points. This presumably would avoid the possibility of some of the rebels beaten in the northern zone escaping south through the LOC to reinforce the main rebel force in the new city.[1]

In answer to the JCS message, CINCLANT sent in some further more specific comments. They agreed with the plan; Palmer was ready when directed; there was very little additional information on the rebels, perhaps 4000 in the New City, 1000 in the northern area. CINCLANT's assessment was that there could be very bitter and costly fighting involved, but he felt that the job had to be done.[2]

Palmer, in commenting to LANT on its last message to the JCS, asked only flexibility in setting H-hour and authority for a judicious use of tear gas.[3]

However, Palmer had in the meantime received a verbal disapproval of the immediate implementation of his recommended operation in a phone conversation with the CNO who was acting as CJCS.

On the 15th the JCS, in a JCSM to the SecDef, approved both the purpose and the proposed method of execution at the appropriate time of the Bennett/Palmer plan. The memo pointed out that it appeared certain that Caamano would refuse to agree to the establishment of a new safety zone under the auspices of the OAS. Therefore, the U.S. should be prepared to take unilateral action to clear the industrial portions of Santo Domingo to allow the city to return to normal. The JCS recommended that approval be granted Bennett and Palmer to execute the military phases of the plan immediately following Caamano's refusal. This fact should be transmitted to the OAS Commission before they conferred with Caamano and their support for a military action solicited. Should the OAS Commission be unwilling to authorize the move, they would be informed of the U.S. intent to carry out the action unilaterally.

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[1]CINCLANT to JCS, 141718Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2]CINCLANT to JCS, 142016Z May 1965, SECRET.
[3]USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 150331Z May 1965, SECRET.

In this connection, the JCS urged that every effort be made to return the Brazilian, Colombian, and Panamanian representatives to the Commission to join the Argentine and Guatemalan representatives (who alone remained in Santo Domingo), prior to the time when the rebels were confronted with the proposal for a new safety zone. Their presence, it was felt, would increase the likelihood of OAS approval of the action.[1]

As it turned out, the GNR on the 14th launched its first offensive action since Wessin's defeat at the Duarte Bridge on the 28th against the northern industrial area. Imbert moved his forces by sea and overland from Wessin's camp at San Isidro, presumably avoiding the LOC and ISZ, and also brought in outlying garrisons. By the 19th RSD had been captured, and the banks of the Ozama reached on the 21st, the whole northern area having been cleared. Imbert claimed 240 rebels killed, but later U.S. estimates reduced this to a small fraction of the original claim (perhaps 25-35 killed).[2] The U.S. expectation of bitter and costly fighting had not come to pass, and it was evident that U.S. intelligence had grossly overestimated the capability of the rebels in the area. Since that same intelligence had given the GNR forces neither the capability nor the will to do the job, the fact that it was done was evidence that there had been much less resistance than expected. In fact, it is difficult to believe that Imbert would have launched the offensive if he had agreed with the U.S. intelligence estimates.

There were widespread charges that the U.S. had assisted the GNR drive, but Palmer admits only that, when Imbert's troops drew close

[1] JCSM-372-65, Military Considerations Relative to the Conduct of Operations by USCOMDOMREP, 15 May 1965, SECRET.

[2] [redacted]

to the northern edge of the ISZ and the LOC, it was only wise to keep in touch with their movements. Accordingly, he directed that ground vehicular liaison teams with radios be attached to the southern flank elements of the GNR forces.[1]

Actually Imbert's drive led to strained relations with the U.S. In an effort to maintain declared neutrality, Palmer apparently refused to allow the junta aircraft the right to use San Isidro airfield for support of the ground drive. U.S. trucks were kept driving up and down the taxiways to prevent their use, the main runways being fully utilized by U.S. aircraft. A request by Wessin to the U.S. command to prevent rebel Dominican Navy ships from running down the river to the sea had to be refused on the same grounds. As a result, for a period around the 18th the command in Santo Domingo almost expected to find itself being fired on by both sides.[2]

As Imbert's drive drew to a close, the Deputy SecDef, in Santo Domingo on his peace-making mission, was instructed by the SecDef to tell Imbert that the U.S. would not tolerate his moving south of the LOC, through the LOC or around it via sea. It was therefore clear at this date that only a political solution would be permitted.

The GNR offensive apparently took Palmer by surprise, and compelled a hasty reassessment of his plan to seize the northern area. In a personal message to CINCLANT and the CJCS at 0600Z on the 16th Palmer propounded forcefully a new plan which really combined the two contingency plans he had been asked to prepare in the previous five days. He stated that with the arrival of secretarial level visitors (Bundy and Vance had arrived on their mission), he was fully aware of the urgent effort being made to find a political solution to the crisis that would avoid bloodshed and city fighting operations. Nevertheless, he felt that the rebels had won a major political victory in getting their case to the U.N. and had thereby exposed the weakness of the OAS.[3]

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[1] USCOMDOMREP Report.

[2] EA tapes.

[3] The U.N. had again taken up the issue and had voted to send observers to Santo Domingo.

Therefore it was only prudent to consider what military contingent operations were open to the U.S. in the event our political strategy failed.

[redacted]

Palmer believed these operations could be conducted with a minimum loss of life and material damage. While it would be easier to restore order to the city through a political settlement, if this were not in our grasp in the next few days, the recommended military operations would be preferable to a continuation of the present strategy which invited only a steady deterioration and the eventual loss of the country. The political strategy to justify such military operations to the OAS and the U.N. was admittedly difficult but the stakes were too high not to give it a try.

Palmer said that he had not specifically discussed the above plan with Bennett, but they had discussed the military possibilities many times. Palmer's opinion was that strong measures would be

welcomed by most Dominicans who were tired of anarchy and would ultimately be supported by the OAS. Action along these lines had been discussed with Bennett, Secretary Mann, and Secretary Vaughn that afternoon.[1] While no concensus had been reached, it was indicated that it would be wise to have a contingency plan ready for consideration.[2]

It would be interesting to know whether the political officials were aware of Palmer's contingency plan to clear the city as forwarded on the 11th.

The JCS, in a memo to the SecDef on the 17th, approved this plan. They stated their belief that, in view of the unsettled political situation, the JCS conviction that the rebels had exposed the impotence of the OAS, and the U.N.'s recognition of the rebel cause, unilateral U.S. action to reduce the rebel stronghold was essential to prevent the establishment of another non-Western oriented regime in the hemisphere and to restore law and order in the country. By taking military action now, before the formal establishment of the IAPF, the U.S. would consolidate the recent gains of the loyalists, aid in restoring stability to major portions of the city, and confine the rebels to a small area. To wait for the IAPF to be established would be to lose the opportunity for decisive action, since the very presence of the IAPF would automatically tend to limit U.S. freedom of action.

The JCS formally recommended that CINCLANT be authorized to direct USCOMDOMREP to execute the plan at a time decided by him and the Ambassador.[3]

Palmer's dilemma was to remain, however. In a cable of the 14th, he summed up all the frustrations, ambiguities and inconsistencies that bedevilled his role. He heartily concurred with

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[1]The special mission of Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Thomas Mann and Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Jack Vaughn had just arrived.

[2]USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT and JCS, 160610Z May 1965, TOP SECRET.

[3]JCSM-377-65, Military Considerations Relative to the Conduct of Operations by USCOMDOMREP, 17 May 1965, SECRET.

CINCLANT's comments to the JCS on the unsoundness of the present U.S. military situation where our hands were tied for political reasons. The rebels had launched that day a ruthless violent and well-prepared campaign to defame the Ambassador and to convince the OAS Commission that the U.S. was really the agressor. Every technique of the "big lie" was being utilized. U.S. troops were continually being accused of untrue violations of the cease-fire while it was the rebels themselves who had been committing violations at the rate of twelve to fifteen a day. Most were deliberate attempts to provoke U.S. troops.

The OAS Commission, Palmer went on, had not demonstrated its ability to control the situation. The rebels were clearly stalling for time and Palmer feared the country could slip away from us "while we dance on the point of a needle." He believed Bennett fully shared this view.

As to the U.S. adherence to and status under the "so-called cease-fire," it was "all very fuzzy in his mind." (1) He did not sign any cease-fire agreement nor has any other U.S. military officer. The formal Act of Santo Domingo of 5 May was signed by the rebels, the old Benoit group, and the OAS Commission, but not by any U.S. officials. (2) The terms of the cease fire were not clearly laid down and were subject to local interpretation. Restrictions on U.S. troops had been self-imposed. (3) Both the Ambassador and he had repeatedly stressed that they reserved the right to take unilateral action as they saw fit. (4) They likewise had reserved the right of self-defense. However, in this regard, he had directed that U.S. troops fire only when fired on first by the rebels. This placed our troops at a disadvantage not strictly in accord with the principle of self-defense. Usually the troops attack and destroy a position and then return to their own lines, but if the position made our own position untenable, he had directed that the troops adjust their lines accordingly. (5) If we weren't careful, we would find ourselves "in concrete and devoid of any freedom of action."

Palmer felt it was clear that U.S. troops could be picked off one by one in a battle of attrition.

The Ambassador and he had discussed recently the matter of checkpoints, and as a result they had reduced the number operating. Although the Ambassador supported this move, in order to show the rebels that we controlled this ring around the city and could cut it off completely at our will, other elements of the U.S. mission opposed the move on economic and humanitarian grounds. These, Palmer conceded, were valid objections, but they overlooked the fact that allowing any passage at all was on balance an advantage to the rebels. Nevertheless, he had reduced the checkpoints to two as indicated. Again, there were more or less self-imposed rules developed locally.

Palmer concluded by asking guidance. In the meantime, he said, they were doing their best to support U.S. policy as interpreted by Ambassador Bennett and himself. He continued to assume that his basic mission of denying the country to the Communists remained unchanged.[1] The tone of frustration and his sense of drift in U.S. policy came through clearly in this message.

This then was the extent of the mid-May contingency planning. Even at that time it was essentially academic, since an American military offensive, especially a unilateral one, had already become politically impossible.

E. COMMENCING THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES

There is a curious parallel between the Dominican affair and that in Lebanon in July 1958. In both cases we were no sooner in the country with forces than we began to think about getting out. In both cases, while these thoughts were under consideration, U.S. forces continued to increase to a maximum point at some later date. By 6 May discussion had already begun among the decision makers in Washington about some force withdrawals. The JCS naturally were

[1] USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 140606Z May 1965, SECRET.

concerned lest political considerations compel too hasty a withdrawal which could be seen in foreign eyes not merely as a retreat but as an admission of guilt in our intervention in the first place.

The JCS therefore queried CINCLANT on the issue. Assuming, CINCLANT was asked, that the cease fire remained in effect and the security mission remained essentially as at present, what size external military forces should remain in the Dominican Republic for the foreseeable future? On the assumption that the forces recommended in answer to this question were smaller than the U.S. forces now in the country, CINCLANT was asked when we could prudently start withdrawing U.S. troops; what the preferred order of withdrawal should be; and what the method should be--sea or air. Furthermore, on the assumption that the GNR became effective, what modifications would CINCLANT recommend for the first two questions? CINCLANT was to consider the questions in the light of the strength and effectiveness of the opposing forces, the political situation (on this part the Ambassador was to be consulted), and possible requirements for a quick reaction force for up-country contingencies.

The message concluded with the comment that the above points were in terms of U.S. forces only. If the OAS force were really to become operational, Latin American units might supplant U.S. troops to a considerable degree.

Palmer sent his recommendations to CINCLANT early on the 8th. As to forces that should remain, he pointed out that he was currently carrying out his mission with a total of twelve battalions. C

The remaining force should retain at least one Marine helicopter squadron, the Army light air-mobile company, the current MP units, the psywar forces, Special Forces group, ASA signal assets as well as an appropriately balanced logistics command.

Such a withdrawal, Palmer cautioned, could have a disastrous psychological effect. The remaining force too would be short of that needed to reduce the rebel stronghold should this be directed.

[redacted]

As to CINCLANT's question on modifications to his recommendations if the GNR became an effective body, Palmer commented that should OAS forces be introduced and U.S. forces reduced accordingly, any further changes would have to await the reconstitution of GNR forces. The present capability of these forces was limited to guard duty and local security, and their reconstitution would take months. Before

they could be relied on again, the status of the OAS force would undoubtedly undergo change.[1]

CINCLANT agreed with Palmer in regard to the dangers of a premature withdrawal and felt that when political conditions had been met, there could be a reduction to eight or nine battalions. Over the long haul there would probably be a continuing requirement for perhaps half that size force. CINCLANT reported that Palmer had been in touch with CONARC in the matter of the order of withdrawal, and CONARC was interested in replacing the 82nd, over the long haul, with parts of an infantry division in order to continue with the scheduled reorganization of the 82nd. In the interest of overall readiness in the Caribbean, CINCLANT felt it desirable to withdraw the Marines as soon as militarily and politically feasible and to replace them with Army units. It was important to reconstitute the Carib Phibron and the ready backup forces of the Fleet Marine Force and its amphibious ships. This would improve Caribbean readiness and ease an existing tight situation in regard to Mediterranean deployments of ships and BLTs. (To be ready for the unexpected, CINCLANT commented, he had already established the capability to use the ships and Marines off the Dominican Republic for emergency action elsewhere in the Caribbean.)[2]

CONARC had supported Palmer's idea of an early withdrawal of the 82nd Airborne and of its replacement by other units. Within a couple of days, however, CONARC changed its position, essentially, because of the costs involved in such a substitution. Furthermore, it was felt that the 82nd could profitably utilize the experience since the division had not been on overseas service since the Second World War.

CINCLANT's appraisal for the long term was to turn out to be quite realistic. In the meantime, as will be delineated briefly in the next section, political developments and pressures impelled U.S. decision makers rapidly along the path to withdrawal of forces. The

[1]USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 080820Z May 1965, SECRET.
[2]CINCLANT to JCS, 082322Z May 1965, SECRET.

JCS tended to take a cautious view but when on 25 May Palmer sent in a reasonable plan for a phased withdrawal, the JCS approved it. The concept was one of reduction from nine Army and three Marine battalions ashore (with one more BLT offshore on the OKINAWA) to a total of seven. The concept was based upon continuing progress to normalcy. The withdrawal was three-phased, consistent with Palmer's capability to maintain the physical separation of rebel and GNR forces, reduce rebel resistance south of the LOC, protect U.S. citizens and other foreigners, and provide a balanced force contribution to the IAF.[1]

These then were Palmer's four missions. As his force shrank, it was clear that the expectation called for a similar erosion of the rebel force by desertion. Thus the rebels would at no time be able to muster enough strength to keep Palmer from seizing the now enfeebled stronghold.

The first U.S. withdrawal came on 26 May when part of a BLT from the ISZ embarked, while the USS OKINAWA with its BLT sailed for Norfolk. It had been decided after all that the Marines should be completely withdrawn. As to their replacement or the replacement of the 82nd with part of a standard infantry division, this was seen to be politically unwise, so that when the last Marines left Santo Domingo on 4 June, the 82nd Airborne Division remained alone.

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XIII. EPILOGUE

By the middle of May the crisis aspects of the Dominican affair had long passed. In the words of one senior Washington decision maker, "the operation in Santo Domingo was running itself." While high-level interest remained, it was not of the urgent type, and focused exclusively on efforts to resolve the political Gordian Knot.

As military problems and possibilities faded into the background and the political became dominant, a series of top-level missions was sent from Washington. These were in addition to the numerous senior political officials who descended on the island from the beginning of the U.S. intervention in various lines of endeavor. A major problem of political-military coordination was posed, primarily for Bennett and Palmer who were essentially responsible for integrating the efforts of the dozen or more U.S. agencies involved. Simultaneous efforts were under way by USIA to develop the propaganda and psywar program, by OSD to distribute food and relief supplies, by State to improve official relationships with the press,

[redacted] Coordinating and integrating these efforts was never easy and not always possible because of the political and military dictates of the situation which, while they usually coincided in purpose and thrust, often conflicted with the economic and sociological dictates.

The most senior mission consisted of McGeorge Bundy (Presidential Special Assistant for International Security Affairs), Mr. Vance (Deputy SecDef), Under Secretary of State Mann and Assistant Secretary of State Vaughn, and arrived on 15 May to take over the negotiating task in a unilateral U.S. effort to resolve the deadlock.[1] Originally intending to stay only forty-eight hours, the group quickly learned

[1] It is interesting to recall that the Vance-Mann team had been sent to Panama by the President after the riots of 9-11 January 1964, and had successfully dampened down the crisis.

that the situation did not permit a simple solution. Mann stayed two days and Vaughn three, while Bundy remained until 26 May. Vance did not leave until the 29th. Their efforts were directed in large part to finding a government acceptable to both sides.

By the time this senior mission arrived, U.S. policy had become one of actual as well as verbal neutrality. For example, when Imbert opened his drive against the northern part of the city, the senior U.S. mission suggested that Palmer interpose his forces between Imbert's and the rebels. Palmer opposed the idea and was prepared to carry his objections straight to Washington over the heads of the mission, but the issue was dropped when Imbert's unexpected speed captured the entire northern area.

With the conquest of the northern area, a new cease-fire was arranged which went into effect on the 21st and was afterwards indefinitely extended by the agreement of both parties.

A new three-man OAS commission arrived on 4 June and was able to develop such conditions under the cease-fire that violations, almost always by the rebels, were much reduced. With the creation of the IAF, the presence of the new Commission, and the departure of the last of the senior Washington representatives, there began the gradual transfer of initiative from the U.S. to the OAS. Mora of the OAS controlled the negotiations while General Alvim was able to exercise considerable initiative and to provide later great impetus to negotiations at the military level on military subjects. The Latin American officers were able to do things which U.S. officers could not, for example, such as entering the rebel zone for liaison purposes.

The U.S. command soon established a close working relationship with IAF HQ. [ ]

U.S. authorities were congratulating themselves on June 15 over the fact that no casualties had been suffered by U.S. troops since

6 June when without warning the most widespread and violent battle between U.S. forces and rebels ever to occur exploded. Starting early that morning the rebels opened fire on (but did not assault) IAF positions around the full periphery of their zone. Fire fights raged all day and the 82nd had its one and only opportunity to hit back in vigorous offensive actions after six weeks of sniper attacks. In all, thirty blocks were taken from the rebels in house-to-house fighting, reducing the area under their control to a little over three-fifths of a square mile. U.S. casualties were five dead and thirty-six wounded, while the Brazilian troops who were hotly engaged also suffered five wounded. The rebels suffered an estimated eighty dead and eighty wounded with more than 350 captured.

The reasons for this rash rebel action have remained obscure, but Palmer and Bennett believed it was the consequence of pent-up frustrations, disunity, especially between moderates and extremists, lack of control over all elements, particularly the 14 of June Party which seemed to be providing the dominant Communist element in the Caamano forces, the effects of the psywar campaign, and the reluctant acceptance of the obvious fact that the OAS was not going to give them the victory they had failed to win by arms. Palmer was convinced that the clash seriously weakened Caamano, chewing up his most aggressive "commando" units and deepening the rebel sense of futility in the face of U.S. power. The irresistible power of the paratroops and their obvious capability to go straight to the sea had they been so directed was perfectly clear to the rebels.

Cumulative U.S. casualties after the 15 June battle had reached twenty-five dead and 163 wounded.

The negotiations between the rebels and the GNR, chaired by the OAS and with Ambassador Bunker as the special U.S. representative, lifting the role out of the hands of Bennett, were painfully difficult. It soon became apparent that Imbert, as head of the GNR, was as intractable as the rebels, instead of being the pliable instrument the

U.S. had expected him to be. He was soon using MSD to denounce the U.S. and the OAS for preventing him from "wiping out" the rebels. Imbert clung tenaciously to power and used every possible tactic to retain his position.

Negotiations dragged on through the summer and at long last culminated in September in the selection of Garcia Godoy as interim president acceptable to both sides. Elections were to be held in six months.* The agreement upon disarmament of the rebels proceeded slowly, however, and it was not until October that the rebel zone was entered by IAF troops and the zone as such ceased to exist. General Wessin was compulsorily removed from the island and made consul general in Miami while, as part of the agreement, the senior commanders of both sides followed him to overseas assignments, having retained their ranks. Colonel Caamano in January 1966 went to London as military attache, but the last of the old junta commanders did not finally leave until the following month.

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troops. Earlier in the summer as the situation gradually eased, in the sense that the danger of new trouble grew less and less, part of the U.S. force had been moved to the countryside for training, and it became clear that one brigade alone could perform the police function that remained.

XIV. OBSERVATIONS

The Dominican affair was rich in useful lessons in crisis operations. Many more things went well than went poorly, but one overriding caveat must be kept in mind. This, as far as the U.S. intervention was concerned, was not a combat situation. The U.S. entry was unopposed and the only military clash of consequence came long after the situation had stabilized. Consequently, there was time and opportunity to make things go when they might not have gone so well had the operations of a hostile force been added into the equation.

The prime question -- should the intervention have been undertaken -- has not been addressed. In view of the information presented to the President and of the impressions created, he saw his only choice to order troops ashore, first to protect U.S. citizens and then to prevent a potential Cuba. Since the ultimate decision maker was unwilling to take any chance of a Communist seizure of power, intervention was inevitable. Since it is also inevitable that Communists will be involved in any political-social upheaval anywhere in Latin America, the Dominican crisis illustrated a keen dilemna for future U.S. policy toward the region.

A. CONTINGENCY PLANNING

The political circumstances causing a U.S. intervention as envisioned in the plan were either a call for U.S. assistance from a beleaguered Dominican government or the existence of a hostile government which had come to power as a result of a coup. The actual occurrence fell between the two assumptions. The U.S. intervened in what was essentially a civil war in which no real government as such existed, although both sides, with some degree of plausibility, claimed legitimacy.

Contingency plans at the lower levels, specifically Corps and Division, were outdated and not in accord with the latest JCS-approved CINCLANT OPLAN. [

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The experience pointed up the problem of time lag in the planning cycle. Lower headquarters are apparently not always able to maintain an updated plans file in accord with the CINC plans file. This is a consequence of the slowness of the normal planning system and of inadequate planning staffs at lower headquarters.

The matter of intelligence will be discussed at length but its relationship to contingency plans should be mentioned here. The lower command levels did not possess the intelligence required for the thorough execution of their own plan. It was not merely that the forces once in Santo Domingo, felt the need for intelligence of types which they did not possess because that need had not been foreseen. Although some simply did not exist, much of this needed information was available at other command levels or agencies. The truly serious planning deficiency lay in the fact that all the OPLANs (CINC, Corps, Division) specified that operations would include the capture of certain key facilities, and these were specifically listed. However, the intelligen

on these key facilities had not been gathered by the units to undertake those captures. The plans, in other words, were not supported by adequate intelligence.

B. INTELLIGENCE

The language used in cables and phone conversations tended to distort the situation and to create an impression in the minds of the Washington decision makers which did not turn out to be strictly in accord with the facts. "The Embassy was under attack;" "the carnage downtown was terrific;" "the city was shredded by air attack." While it has been shown that these impressions were used as the original justification for the U.S. intervention, it is surprising that the Embassy saw fit to pass on such information to Washington.

As a result of the continuous gross overestimation of rebel strength, the U.S. moved with caution militarily in the early days. The estimated rebel reactions to and cost of establishing the LOC and later of clearing the northern portion of the city are cases in point. It may well be that the same overestimates of rebel strength which led to the initial intervention also prevented the U.S. from undertaking military operations which could have quickly and decisively ended the whole affair. Even after the unexpectedly simple establishment of the LOC, the overestimates continued, until finally the GNR seizure of the northern portion of the city laid to rest the image of desperate and widespread resistance.

C. POLITICAL-MILITARY COORDINATION IN THE FIELD

The crisis represented an almost textbook example of political-military coordination in the field. This was probably the first time a sizeable U.S. military force had been tied so closely to a diplomatic officer. Bennett was the senior U.S. official on the scene, and although

Masterson and Palmer when they arrived were nominally co-equal with Bennett, there was never any question that Bennett ran the show. It was his judgment upon which ultimately all rested in the early days. The role of the military commander was to coordinate with the Ambassador and to follow his lead. The Embassy and not the military headquarters was the focal point of U.S. operations.

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On the military side, some senior military spokesman should have been present in the Embassy from the very start of the U.S. intervention. This might have avoided the difficulties that arose in attempting to assess the Ambassador's wishes on the 28th when for a period he vacillated so surprisingly in regard to the number of troops he wished ashore, asking for more troops to be deployed to the area but restricting the number ashore and rejecting overflights.

The JCS had to depend for information upon State or upon Commodore Dare (who was not ashore) via CINCLANT. Even Dare did not have much communication with the Embassy until late on the 28th.

A closer coordination would involve several points. If, as was intended, the senior military officer should join the Ambassador at the Embassy, the Embassy must be prepared to receive him. This involves facilities like space and communications. If the commander is to be apart from the Embassy, as were Masterson and Palmer at San Isidro, the Embassy should possess communications to him. The use of couriers, by helicopter or vehicle, was possible only in the absence of hostile military action.

Also it would appear that a thorough familiarity with the OPLAN on the part of the senior Embassy officials would facilitate the execution of the plan. The Embassy staff were clearly surprised at the magnitude of the forces which began to enter the country. This is a key deficiency which is easily remediable. Related to this point is the need to coordinate the Embassy Emergency and Evacuation Plan with the military OPLAN in order to give the military some idea of what might be expected of them in the matter of providing protection.

On the whole, political-military cooperation during the crisis was quite effective. The early instances of failure, such as the negotiation of the ISZ on the basis of a plan not approved by one of the senior military officers in the area, were due most probably to the problems of separation of the political and military headquarters. As time passed and the command structure was shaken down, an extraordinary degree of harmony grew to exist between the Embassy and USCOMDOMREP. In large part this was no doubt a product of the good personal relations between the Ambassador and General Palmer, and was evidence of the fact that the personal factor is of major significance in any joint political-military crisis coordination.

(In view of the serious impact which the real or imagined threat to the Embassy had upon subsequent developments, it may be useful to consider means of improving the protection afforded by Embassy buildings in those countries where physical assaults might occur.)

D. DECISION MAKING AND DECISION TRANSMITTING

Since the issues did not emerge simultaneously, the decision-making process followed a step-by-step pattern, decisions being made to meet the issues as they appeared. This process continued until the full U.S. force had been committed on an incremental basis and the situation in Santo Domingo stabilized through the establishment of the LOC. The incremental nature of the involvement, as at other times in recent experience, consisted in important measure of committing ourselves by day-to-day expedient reactions to still greater (and unwanted) involvement on the morrow. The Dominican crisis clearly illustrates the momentum which can develop in contingency situations.

The step-by-step nature of the commitment, as the U.S. was gradually drawn in, is illustrated in the following sequence of the first four days.

25 April - Task Group moved into position for possible evacuation, minimum force only to be employed.

26 April - Two BCTs (Power Pack I) alerted.

26 April - Evacuation by use of helicopter considered.

27 April - Task Group evacuation ships moved into Haina harbor for evacuation directly instead of through helicopters only.

27 April - Forty marines put ashore at Haina by CTG 44.9 to protect the evacuation.

28 April - Radios sent to junta forces at San Isidro.

28 April - Task Group ships with BLT ordered to close the beach and to stand by.

28 April - Airlift for Power Pack I marshalled and two BCTs loaded.

28 April - Marine platoon sent to guard Embassy.

28 April - Ambassador requests 400 marines ashore, 526 landed.

29 April - Communications group sent to junta headquarters.

29 April - Rest of TG 44.9 Marine BLT ordered ashore.

29 April - Two BCTs commenced movement to San Isidro.

Once the first paratroops had been deployed, the intervention became irrevocable.

As in other recent crises, decision making was physically concentrated in either the White House or the State Department. The participants usually included the President, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Under Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, the Director of Central Intelligence, the Chairman JCS, and the Presidential Special Assistant for International Security Affairs. This group met either as a body or in smaller groupings. The CJCS, for example, spent much time with the Secretary of Defense in the office of the Secretary of State, while Mr. Vance, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, operated with Mr. Mann (Under Secretary of State) as a joint Defense-State team specifically following the Dominican affair.

Actually, the decision-making line ran from the Ambassador in Santo Domingo to the State Department and finally to the White House. As has been pointed out, in the final analysis the decisions made in Washington in the opening days depended exclusively upon the Ambassador's judgment and upon his estimate of the situation.

The CJCS was the only military representative in the decision-making group, and, as such, spoke for the military point of view. No meetings of the JCS were held during the crucial early days when U.S. intervention was decided upon, the first meeting occurring on 30 April. The CJCS would report the decisions reached to the Director, Joint Staff, the Director of Operations, or the Vice J-3, and issue the resulting order directly. He also passed on information on the nature of the decisions taken and on the positions assumed within the decision-making group.

The decision transmitting process was essentially in line with familiar practice in previous recent crises. While the military

establishment, specifically the JCS and CINCLANT, were still geared to responding to the more formal traditional system of decision transmitting, they were able to accommodate to the informal methods. It might even be suggested that the system as used has indeed become the standard as a result of repeated usage, and therefore no longer presents any fundamental problems.

It was rather the ambiguity of the policy resulting from decisions which created problems for the military. The official line from Washington was to oppose the revolt and Bosch's return, and yet it was recognized in some quarters that this was a popular revolt with very considerable nonextremist support. The military commander in Santo Domingo was directed to buttress the feeble junta and to encourage it to destroy the rebels, and yet shortly afterwards he was told that the U.S. was not to become identified with the junta. Earlier the cease-fire to permit the evacuation was to be used to work for a permanent peace and a provisional government. The Ambassador and Connett clearly had one point of view, a single-minded one, and pursued it faithfully, but the highest councils of the decision makers appear to have been divided. Also while senior officials at State like Mr. Mann urged a hard line, there are clear indications that other elements in State regularly responsible for Dominican affairs were opposed, and wished to follow in practice the neutrality we professed. Added to all this were occasional conflicting requirements among U.S. military, political, relief, and propaganda agencies in Santo Domingo.

It is to the great credit of the military commanders involved that they were able to carry out orderly operations as directed in the face of these multifarious contradictory pressures.

The political authorities (the decision makers) maintained an extremely tight control over military deployments and operations, again in accord with recent custom, with the President himself approving all deployments and operations. The military fully recognized this fact of life and accommodated to it, the JCS reaction to the

unauthorized deployment of elements of Power Pack II clearly illustrating this sensitivity. At the same time, it is interesting to recall that the first landing of troops, the Marine guards at the embarkation point of the evacuation at Haina, was carried out by CTG 44.9 and the Ambassador without reference to Washington for authorization.

Military desiderata were overridden by political considerations not merely in the matter of operations in Santo Domingo and of deployments, but political constraints extended even to the bypassing of military standing operating procedures, such as when the first paratroop units and their airlift were ordered to DefCon 3 but were not permitted to load aboard the aircraft for fear of political reverberations.

E. COMMAND ORGANIZATION

The problems which arose in relation to command structure were derived in large part from the step-by-step character of the intervention and the consequent incremental "quasi-implementation" of the OPLAN (in the sense that everything in the plan ultimately went, under the specified command structure, but not all as a single coherent operation).

CJTF 122 was never really able to assert a grip over operations. The JTF was activated rather late, on the 28th, when events were already increasing their momentum, and, in addition, CJTF 122 took almost another full day to reach the scene. There then resulted the period when even the JCS were unaware of Masterson's location or whether he had assumed command as CJTF. By Friday noon the imminent potential expansion of the U.S. commitment, based on the Presidential decision of that morning "to take and hold the island," tended to outmode the JTF before it had barely begun to function. Masterson had only a small staff and was physically removed from the focus of U.S. control, the Embassy, and with inadequate communications to the city. The decision makers and senior officers in the JCS began

to display an increasing impatience over the inability to get information flowing from or through the JTF staff. The system of liaison officers at the Embassy and at San Isidro had worked imperfectly and would clearly have been inadequate under the expected transformation of the operation.

The manner of General Palmer's appointment was productive of problems. The use of informal verbal instructions, unconfirmed in writing, left open to misconstruction the two key issues of the extent of Palmer's command and of his mission. It remained ambiguous as to whether Palmer would command only the ground element or would supplant CJTF 122 as the overall commander. Presumably, this last was the intention of the high command in Washington, but it was not clearly articulated. As to his mission, he had been told to prevent another Cuba, but arrived to find that a cease-fire that had been signed with the rebels had seemed to become central in U.S. policy.

The revision of the command structure three times between the 28th and the 7th caused confusion, especially in the matter of information flow to Washington. The intermediate step on the 4th, making Palmer responsible directly to CINCLANT and co-equal with Masterson, was an indication of the JCS desire to end the JTF mechanism as quickly as possible in view of the delays it had tended to impose through its lack of facilities. In addition, Palmer was by the 4th located next to the Embassy where communications direct to Washington were available. Nevertheless, the confusion in the command picture especially during the period 30th - 2nd represented a potential danger had combat operations taken place.

F. THE FLOW OF INFORMATION

As has been usual in other crises, the flow of information to the decision makers was neither complete nor rapid enough to satisfy them. There was a continuous demand from the decision makers for detailed information on troop strengths, deployments, headquarters locations, rebel and junta capabilities, and every imaginable aspect

of the operation. This demand not only indicated the voracious appetite for detail typical of the top level in crises, but also represented the tight control maintained by the political authorities over all military operations in the Dominican Republic.

The inadequacy of information flowing to Washington in the early days was a function of intelligence failure, command organization problems, and inadequate communications facilities. The last point is discussed at length in Appendix B to this report, and it need only be said here that the military in Santo Domingo had a much more difficult

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problems. The confused command structure delayed transmission of information. Reports were slow in reaching Washington through the JTF and then CINCLANT, delays of many hours occurring. This was apparent very early and led the JCS to arrange the regular half hourly phone conversation with Dare and then Masterson, as a means of bypassing the slow formal message channels. The same thing occurred when Palmer reached the scene, and led to the President's insistence that Palmer send a twice daily sitrep directly to the White House.

The reaching down by the National Command Authorities direct to the senior officials in Santo Domingo became standard quite early. The President demanded to speak with the man on the spot ultimately responsible, and hence his calls to Bennett just prior to the Marine landing or again to Bennett and Palmer to give permission to put through the LOC. This action continued a tradition of Presidential efforts to control local decisions and actions, going back to President Eisenhower in the Tachen Island crisis of February 1955, and continuing through the several crises of the Kennedy and Johnson years.

The JCS themselves also reached down to subordinate headquarters in issuing orders in order to avoid bottlenecks at CINCLANT or other senior headquarters. Such measures represented a useful mechanism for maintaining tight control as demanded by the political authorities.

The issuance of verbal orders prior to the dispatch of a formal order also was prevalent. By this means the JCS were able to alert the headquarters involved to the forthcoming order, thus granting an hour or two of extra time. The value of this mechanism was thoroughly proven, but it was also made clear that its usefulness depended upon an equally rapid transmission of the verbal order-warning by the senior headquarters to its subordinate headquarters. That responsiveness decays as distance down the chain of command increases was demonstrated on the night of the 30th - 1st, during "the pause" when, despite orders, XVIIIth Airborne Corps and the 82nd Division continued to load full combat loads and also committed the error of the unauthorized launch of some personnel of Power Pack II. It was because of this that the JCS began to reach down directly to headquarters below the CINC.

The use of personal messages from the NCA to the commanders on the scene while a useful and necessary mechanism continued to create problems, since the restriction severely limited the circulation among personnel responsible for action of the usually key information contained therein. CINCLANT, as the monitoring headquarters, apparently felt this difficulty keenly. Some means of parallel communication seems necessary so that information contained in such personals, which requires action, can be disseminated.

G. OPERATIONS

Such actual operations as were carried out in Santo Domingo were characterized by a high level of efficiency. It was in the deployments that difficulties were encountered.

In the alerting of the Power Packs it will be recalled that variations in understanding as to what different DefCons implied required the JCS to phrase its orders loosely, using terms such as "optimum readiness," in order the TAC and the XVIIIth Airborne Corps could each attain what approximated a DefCon 2. A better defined alerting system for contingency situations would seem to be called for in place of the DefCon system which was designed for use in general war.

The failure to plan at Division or Corps level for a less-than-full combat standard load introduced an initial delay factor. The term "riot control" as descriptive of the type equipment needed was too imprecise. It was surprising that no "austere" TOE was in existence at the moment at Corps or Division level, particularly since the 82nd Airborne had been specifically designated for Latin American contingency operations, few of which would seem to call for a full combat load.

Appendix A

CHRONOLOGY OF ALERTING AND MOVEMENT OF MILITARY FORCES FOR EMPLOYMENT IN OPERATIONS RELATED TO THE DOMINICAN SITUATION

CHRONOLOGY OF ALERTING AND MOVEMENT OF MILITARY FORCES
FOR EMPLOYMENT IN OPERATIONS RELATED
TO THE DOMINICAN SITUATION

TIME (EDT)	
	25 April
1832	Minimum number of vessels suitable for embarkation of 1200 U.S. citizens directed to move to vicinity of Santo Domingo. Vessels to stay out of sight of land.
	26 April
1934	[redacted]
	27 April
1257	Evacuation of U.S. citizens from Santo Domingo directed. Caribbean Ready Amphibious Squadron (including BOXER) performing evacuation.
	28 April
1920	Caribbean Ready Amphibious Squadron began landing Marines to protect American citizens.
1948	[redacted]
	29 April
1500	Caribbean Ready Amphibious Squadron closed Santo Domingo.
1514	Power Pack I directed to deploy.
	30 April
0230	Power Pack I closed.
0800	[redacted]
1159	

TIME (EDT)

1200

1404

1404

1011

1209

1212

1212

1805

2300

0734

1300

1426

1506

1859

2153

0600

1600

0900

1200

TIME (EDT)	
	5 May
1129	Fighter Interceptor Squadron (12 F-104) alerted.
1958	101st Airborne Division reverted to normal operations.
	6 May
1756	Fighter Interceptor Squadron directed to deploy to Ramey AFB.
	7 May
1639	Fighter Interceptor Squadron closed Ramey AFB.
	13 May
2007	
2008	
	14 May
2357	Nicaraguan Organization of American States Force (strength 159) authorized to proceed Dominican Republic.
1818	Honduras Organization of American States Force closed.
	15 May
1930	Nicaraguan Organization of American States Force closed.
1945	Costa Rican Organization of American States Force closed.
	23 May
1959	Brazilian Organization of American States Force (strength 1129) authorized to proceed Dominican Republic.
	26 May
1710	

TIME (EDT)	
	27 May
	[redacted]
	28 May
1352	[redacted]
	29 May
1000	Brazilian Organization of American States Force closed. Marine Battalion Landing Team 1/2 aboard OKINAWA arrived Morehead City.
	30 May
1943	All remaining Marine units alerted for withdrawal. U.S. Army and Air Force units alerted for withdrawal on 28 May arrived CONUS.
	1 June
1645	[redacted]
1913	
	2 June
1130	Marine Battalion Landing Team 1/8 reembarked.
	3 June
1042	Reconnaissance Element (3 RF-101), one Fighter Interceptor Squadron (12 F-104) directed to return to normal operations.
	4 June
0847	[redacted]
	6 June
1300	[redacted]

Appendix B

COMMUNICATIONS

COMMUNICATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

This appendix presents only the highlights of the communications activities during the Dominican Republic crisis. Yet, it attempts to treat the significant communications aspects as relates to the overall command and control functions covered in the main body of this report.

The Dominican Republic operation was characterized by an expanding communications network beginning with very austere facilities and rapidly growing into a relatively large, diverse and high capacity system of communications. This buildup of communications proceeded as rapidly as personnel and equipment could be deployed to the objective area. Although these communications capabilities were stretched to the limit in the early days of the operation, essential command and control communications were established and maintained throughout the operation.

B. THE GROWTH OF COMMUNICATION CAPABILITIES

At the outbreak of the crisis, the American Embassy was supported by limited commercial circuits, which were quickly expanded by additional commercial circuits from Santo Domingo to San Juan, Puerto Rico, and, thence, through the Defense Communications System (DCS) from San Juan to Washington, D.C. and the NCA. [military circuit

b1
s

] Secure TTY was included in this original capability.

The commercial circuits going into the Dominican Republic were microwave radio circuits to the coast of the Dominican Republic and then overland by wire and cable to Santo Domingo. At Santo Domingo all commercial circuits were terminated and distributed through the commercial facilities which were located in the rebel-held area and thus subject to disruption at the pleasure of the rebels. Actually,

the circuits were not denied to the U.S. elements, and as a matter of fact were constantly expanded during the crisis. Commercial cables from Santo Domingo to San Isidro were also subject to rebel disruption because of their termination in the commercial facilities in the rebel-held area of Santo Domingo.

Another original communications facility available to the Embassy in Santo Domingo was the military radio equipment in the hands of the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG). This equipment was provided as a communications link with CINCSOUTH and was never used for other than indirect (relay through CINCSOUTH) communications with Washington or other U.S. commands.

The vulnerability of the commercial facilities resulting from possible rebel disruption caused an early expansion of U.S. communication facilities to provide additional and parallel circuits from U.S. military capabilities.

Beginning on 28 April, CINCLANT had one voice circuit with the Embassy in Santo Domingo. This circuit was provided through the DCS to Puerto Rico and thence via commercial means to Santo Domingo (Figure 1). On 29 April, CINCLANT had one voice and one secure TTY circuit with CJTF-122 aboard the USS BOXER located off Santo Domingo (Figure 2). These two circuits were from the normal point-to-point Navy system. Also, on 29 April, CJTF-122 established voice radio communications with the Embassy in Santo Domingo utilizing tactical Marine Corps man-pack radios, AN/PRC-47 (Figure 3). Prior to the establishment of this link, the lack of an adequate means of communications between CJTF-122 and the Embassy had made it necessary for a JTF-122 liaison officer to carry messages between these two points via helicopter. By 30 April, CJTF-122 had voice and TTY communications with the Service component commanders as shown in Figure 4.

On 2 May, CJTF-122 transferred his flag from the BOXER to the USS NEWPORT NEWS. This transfer improved the communications facilities available to the commander afloat since the conduct of flight operations

KEY COMMUNICATION LINKS

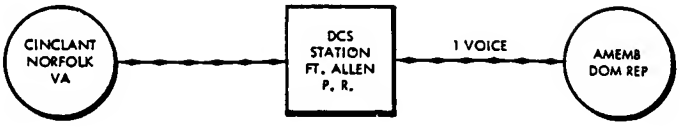

FIGURE 1. CINCLANT - American Embassy Link, 28 April 1965

FIGURE 2. CINCLANT - JTF-122 Links, 29 April 1965

FIGURE 3. JTF-122 - American Embassy Link, 29 April 1965

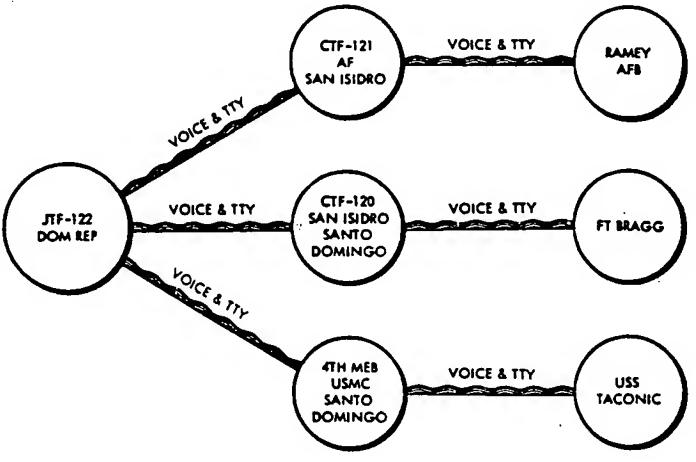

FIGURE 4. JTF-122 - Component Commanders Links, 30 April 1965

from the BOXER made necessary the lowering of the ship's antennas. The NEWPORT NEWS thus provided the focal point for the military communication network connecting CINCLANT with his deployed forces.

During the early part of May, additional long-haul communications facilities were provided by the installation of high-frequency, single side-band (SSB) radio systems as follows:

a. On 30 April, an AN/TSC-20 system was in operation between San Isidro and the Army Strategic Communication System's East Coast Relay Station (ECR) at Fort Bragg, N.C. [

b. On 1 May, the AN/TSC-20 system was backed up by the installation of an AN/TSC-16 system between the same points. [

c. An AN/TSC-25 system became operational on 8 May between Santo Domingo and the Mid-West Relay (MWR) Station of the DCS at Leavenworth, Kansas. [

All of the leased long-haul circuits into the Dominican Republic were activated by 11 May and some initial problems were experienced as to reliability. The quality of these circuits gradually improved and by the end of May long-haul circuit reliability was consistently over 90 percent. The high level of reliability of the long-haul military radio systems can be seen from the performance data presented in Figure 5 as pertains to operation of the AN/TSC-20 and AN/TSC-16 for the month of May.

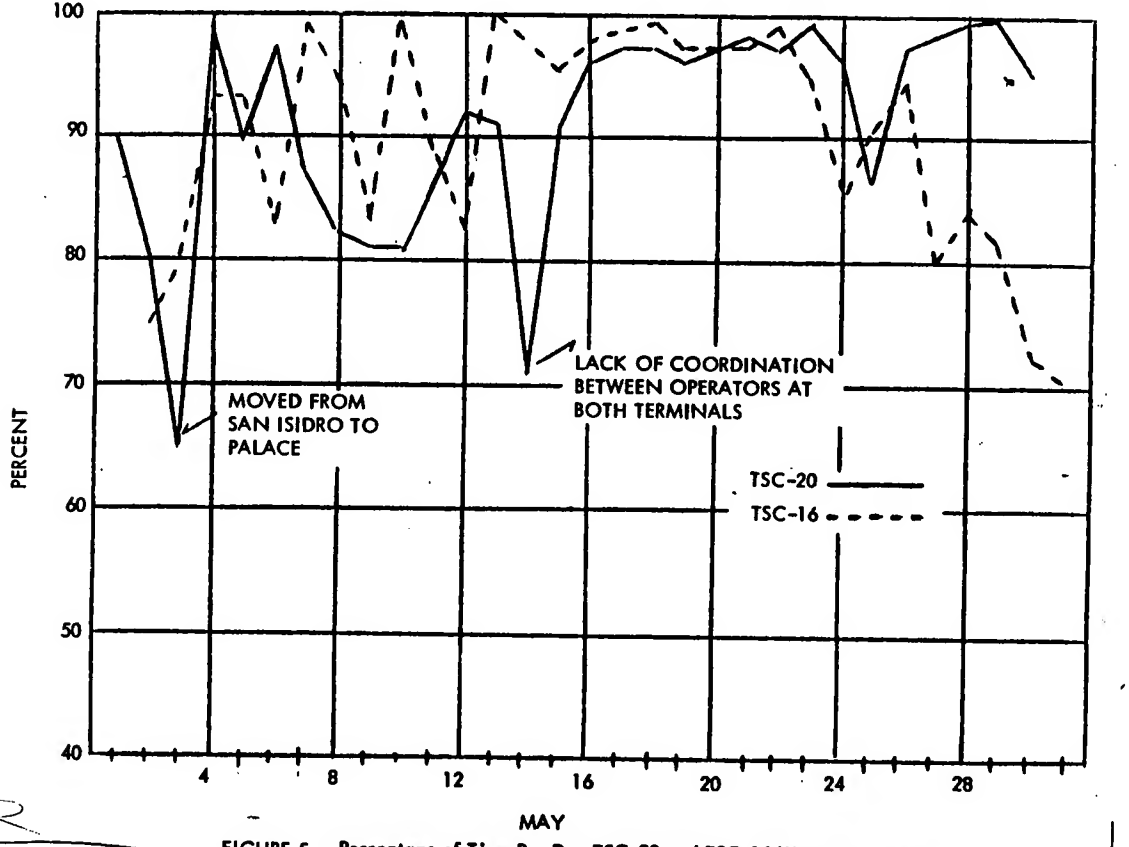

FIGURE 5. Percentage of Time Per Day TSC-20 and TSC-16 Were Operational

The planning documents for providing communications support for Dominican Republic operations were the C-E Annex/Signal Annex of CINCLANT and XVIIIth Airborne Corps OPLAN 310/2. These plans were based on the air drop deployment of a brigade-size force with minimum communications capability. Except for the assault echelon, even this austere deployment of communications elements did not follow the phasing of the Corps OPLAN 310/2. As the political/military situation deteriorated, the size of the military force escalated far beyond anything envisioned in the OPLAN, and during this rapid force buildup priority of air movement was given to parachute infantry battalions, and, consequently, the movement of alerted communications elements was either delayed or the units were reconfigured to meet minimum essential criteria. This type of austere and unplanned deployment of communications capabilities certainly imposes problems, yet it would appear that such undesirable features as this will of necessity characterize all crisis situations in which the demand for flexibility in military/political operations must take priority over the adherence to a rigid OPLAN. On the other hand, it does seem imperative that sufficient communications capabilities be deployed concurrently with any military force to enable the commander to control the troop elements of his force.

C. SECURE COMMUNICATIONS

D. COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATION

As part of the Dominican Republic Task Force,[1] which augmented the NMCC, J-6 and DCA representatives worked together as a team to coordinate the evolving communications requirements that characterized the operation. This team tried to sense the developing needs for additional communications facilities, such as the requirements for direct circuits, and call-up circuits to meet these needs from commercial or military resources.

In the objective area a DCA-CONUS liaison team reported to U.S. COMDOMREP on 8 May and was assigned to the J-6 staff as a special unit to be called the DCA/Indigenous Communications Division. This unit immediately assumed full responsibility for long haul circuit activation, circuit restoration and the establishment of a circuit status control center.

E. SPECIAL COMMUNICATIONS PROJECTS

During the early days of activity (prior to 29 April), much confusion and lack of knowledge existed concerning the actions of the Dominican Republic military leaders since they were separated from each other and from the American Embassy with virtually no means of communication with each other. The seriousness of this problem is seen from the pressure brought to bear to get 50 U.S. walkie-talkie radio sets for loan to Dominican Republic forces. (Detailed discussion in a prior section.)

Throughout the Dominican Republic operation, requirements continued to develop for communications to support special projects. COMDOMREP consistently resisted the diverting of essential tactical communications facilities for these purposes, but did take steps to insure that these special projects were supported. Some of the major special projects which developed are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

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[1] See Appendix C.

The Solomon Group, headed by Assistant Secretary of State Solomon, was sent to Santo Domingo to supervise the distribution of U.S.-provided food supplies throughout the Dominican Republic. To coordinate this distribution, several radio stations were set up at major population centers in the country and a net control station was established in an American Embassy building in Santo Domingo.

The U.S. Information Service (USIS) provided policy coordination for a program designed to broadcast U. S.-oriented radio programs and to jam non-U.S.-oriented radio programs locally originated. Personnel and equipment from the State Department, Army Signal Units, the U. S. Navy, USIS, the Army Security Agency, and an Army Psychological Warfare Battalion were involved in this project.

The Joint Information Bureau (JIB) was established to coordinate press coverage for the Department of Defense. This organization was provided with telephone service in the local area through the existing military facilities and commercial teletype circuit requirements to the U. S. were coordinated by COMDOMREP as well as the installation and maintenance support of a radio set (KWN-2) for JIB's use between Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico.

The Organization of American States (OAS) delegation established its original headquarters in the Embajador Hotel where initial communication consisted of limited local commercial telephones. The damaged and unreliable condition of these local commercial facilities made it necessary that OAS have other communications support. COMDOMREP met this requirement initially by providing four tactical FM radios (AN/PRC-10s) to the OAS. This was followed by the installation of VHF radio and spiral four-cable circuits and a switchboard tying the OAS headquarters into the military communications systems. Concurrently, efforts were directed toward the reactivation of key commerical communi-

cation support for OAS. This was a coordinated effort of the commercial telephone company, the U.S. military, and OAS representatives and resulted in satisfactory communications support for OAS. Also, three U.S. military radio operators were provided to operate MAAG radio sets for OAS radiocircuits to CINCSOUTH.

F. COMMUNICATIONS AND A DELAY IN COMMAND CHANGE

The assumption of command of all operations ashore in the Dominican Republic by Gen. Palmer was delayed in order that the installation of satisfactory communications facilities could be completed which would permit him to control all elements ashore. During this period of delay, command channel messages continued to be routed through CJTF-122 and CINCLANT. There are differing opinions as to the validity of the reasons for this delay in turning over command. The counterview suggests that command and control would have been much improved had Gen. Palmer assumed command earlier and taken up his headquarters beside the American Embassy and thus be near the Ambassador, and, also, be able to use the direct communications facilities that the Embassy had with the NCA. This would have been desirable from the standpoint of being more responsive to the many inquiries and demands placed directly on COMDOMREP by the NCA, but would have tended to bypass the normal military command channels.

Also, it should be noted that any earlier additional load on the Embassy communications facilities may have been more than these facilities could have accommodated. For example, on 28 April the Embassy reported to the State Department that they were behind on even "flash" messages, and on the 29th the Embassy again said in a message that their communications facilities were flooded and that they were accepting only State Department messages.

An earlier colocating of COMDOMREP with the Embassy, and the availability of direct Embassy-Washington communications to him could possibly have obviated this confusion and embarassment.

When Gen. Palmer was established as U.S. Commander, Dominican Republic, on 7 May, he had voice and TTY communications with the 11th MEB, CTF-121, CTF-124 (Navy Afloat), CINCLANT, the NMCC, and, of course, since he was adjacent to the American Embassy he had extensive local communication to the Embassy (Figure 6).

G. THE MATURE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM

A general impression of the growth of the communications system as it evolved during the month of May can be seen from CINCLANT's communications diagram prepared as of the end of May (Figure 7).

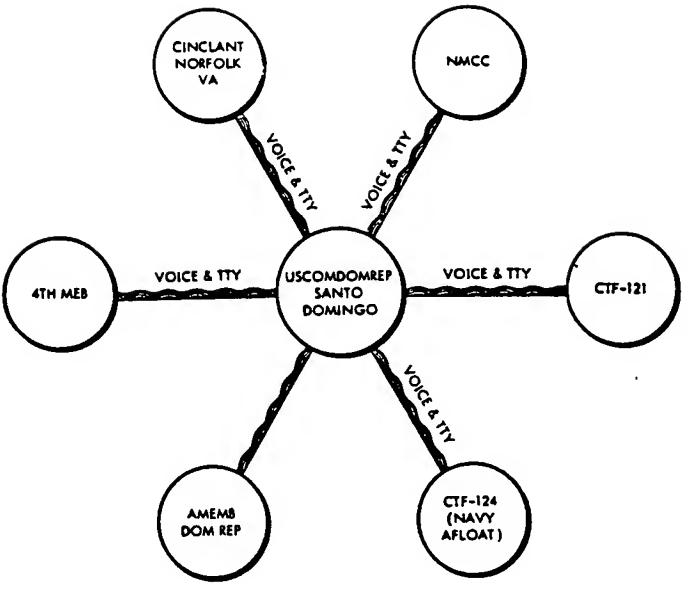

FIGURE 6. USCOMDOMREP Links, 7 May 1965

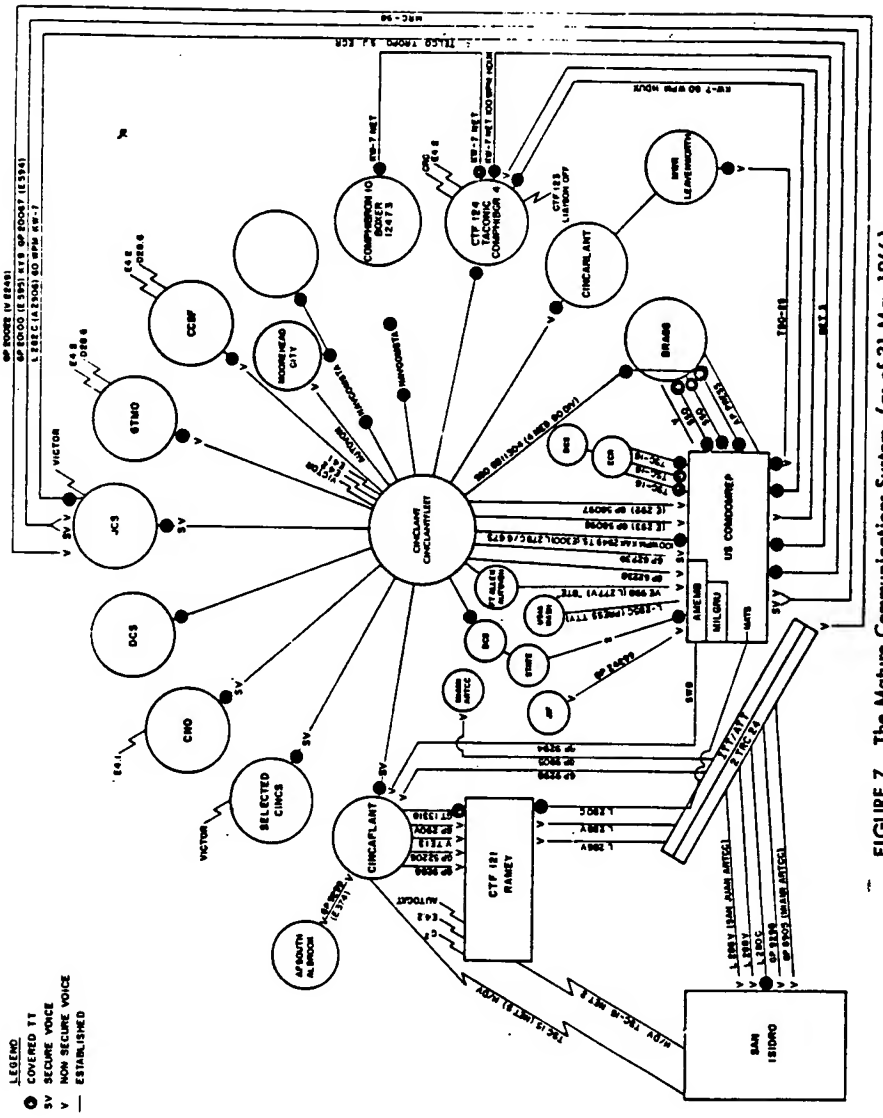

FIGURE 7. The Mature Communications System (as of 31 May 1966)

Due to classified contents, Appendix C, consisting of pages 290 through 297 of Weapons Systems Evaluation Group (WSEG) Study of Critical Incident #10, entitled The Dominican Republic Crisis of 1965, 16 August 1966, have been withdrawn from this copy.

Appendix D

GLOSSARY AND LIST OF PERSONNEL

GLOSSARY AND LIST OF PERSONNEL

A. GLOSSARY

APCJ	Pro-Castro 14th of June Party.
Carib Ready Phibron	The Caribbean amphibious squadron carrying a battalion landing team of Marines continuously cruising the Caribbean area.
CEFA	Dominican Armed Forces Training Center, the elite force of Wessin, based at San Isidro Airfield.
[redacted]	The Unified Command contingency plan for the Dominican Republic.
CJTF 122	Commander JTF 122.
COMCARIBSEAFRON	Commander Caribbean Sea Frontier - USN command subordinate to CINCLANT and controlling TG 44.9.
CTG 44.9	Commander Task Group 44.9 (Commodore Dare, USN).
GNR	Government of National Reconstruction, the successor to the junta, established under U.S. auspices on 8 May with General Imbert as leader.
Haina (Jaina)	The small seaport eight miles west of Santo Domingo.
JTF 122	Joint Task Force 122, the organization activated to implement [redacted]
MCP	Peking-oriented Dominican Popular Movement.
MILGROUP	Military Group, the new designation for the old MAAG.
OAS	Organization of American States.
PR	Reformist Party (rightist group of Juan Balaguer).
PRD	Dominican Revolutionary Party (Bosch's party).
PSPD	Moscow-oriented Dominican Popular Socialist Party.
[redacted]	Radio Santo Domingo, the main communications system in the country, controlled by the rebels.
[redacted]dro	The main military airfield eight miles east of Santo Domingo, location of the CEFA.
[redacted]	Task Group 44.9, the Carib Ready Phibron.

B. LIST OF PERSONNEL

Juan Balaguer - former rightist President and leader of the PR, in exile in April 1965.

W. Tapley Bennett - U.S. Ambassador in Santo Domingo.

Colonel Pedro Bencit - head of junta established April 27 by the military chiefs to counter the revolt.

Dr. Juan Bosch - former Dominican President and still leader of the PRD, in exile in April 1965.

Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker - U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Donald Reid Cabral - Dominican President overthrown by the revolt.

Admiral Rivera Caminero - Chief, Dominican Navy.

William Connett - Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM), U.S. Embassy, Santo Domingo.

Brigadier General Rivera Cuesta - Dominican Army Chief of Staff.

Commodore (Captain) Dare - Commander Task Group 44.9 (Carib Phibron)

General de los Santos - Chief, Dominican Air Force.

General Montas Guerrero - a senior Dominican Army officer opposing the revolt.

General Antonio Imbert - antirebel leader, sole surviving assassin of Trujillo, and head of the GNR after 7 May.

Ambassador John Martin - former U.S. Ambassador to Santo Domingo sent as special Presidential envoy to solve the crisis.

Vice Admiral Masterson, USN - Commander Joint Task Force 122 (CJTF 122).

Admiral Moorer, USN - CINCLANT after 30 April.

Dr. Jose Mora - Secretary General of the OAS.

Vice Admiral Needham - Deputy CINCLANT and CINCLANTFLT.

Lieutenant General Palmer, USA - Commanding General-Designate XVIIIth Airborne Corps and U.S. Commander Dominican Republic.

Admiral Smith, USN - CINCLANT until 30 April.

Major General Tompkins, USMC - Deputy CJTF 122 and first commander of USMC forces ashore.

Molina Urena - PRD-appointed provisional president after the outbreak of the revolt.

Colonel (later General) Wessin y Wessin - leader of the coup against Bosch and in April 1965 the leading military figure opposing the revolt.

Vice Admiral Wiley - Deputy Chief of Staff CINCLANTFLT and CINCWESTLANT.

Major General York, USA - Commander 82nd Airborne Division.

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE CRISIS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC 24 APRIL-31 AUGUST 1965

NOTE: The classification of any paragraph in this volume is that of the most highly classified document cited in the footnote below the paragraph.

Historical Division
Joint Secretariat
Joint Chiefs of Staff

30 September 1966

Copy No. 5

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Introduction

[illegible] occupies [illegible] the larger part of the island of Hispaniola, which it shares with Haiti. It has a population of 3,340,000 living in an area of approximately 19,000 square miles. Two-thirds of the people live in the northeast. The average density is 150 per square mile, which is higher than Latin America as a whole. The Republic's racial composition is estimated at about 70 per cent mestizo and mulatto, 18 per cent negro, and 12 per cent caucasian. The Dominican Republic has had a long history of internal conflict, with frequent outside intervention. Government has traditionally revolved around personalities rather than institutions or ideologies, and the administration of public affairs, usually in the hands of incompetent and corrupt officials, has been characterized by opportunism and authoritarian methods. In this environment, control of the army, as in so many Latin American countries, has been the key to political power.

Early History

After 350 years of colonial rule, the Dominican Republic emerged as an independent nation in 1844. In constant fear of invasion from their neighbor and former conqueror, Haiti, the Dominicans made repeated overtures to France and Spain for protection. For a brief period during the US Civil War Spain regained control of the country, but, partly because of US pressure and the united resistance of the Dominicans, Spain withdrew in 1865. Despite the long struggle for independence the Dominican Republic was unprepared for liberty and democracy. Its people had received no training in politics or public administration from the Spaniards and had been given no effective voice in government during the two decades of Haitian rule. In its first 40 years of independence the Republic endured 40 revolutions, several succeeding in overthrowing the national government. Rapidly, and often violently, strong men, supported by caudillos--provisional political figures with large private armies--succeeded each other to the presidency.

US Intervention

In 1869 the Dominican government requested US annexation. The Grant administration was receptive; it dispatched US naval forces and drew up a treaty of annexation. The treaty failed to win ratification in the Senate, however, and the entire project was abandoned in 1871. US action was thus forestalled a generation, but the later decades of the nineteenth century were a prelude to intervention. Years of mismanagement, opportunism, corruption, and outright looting, left the country insolvent by the end of the century. The situation had degenerated into financial and political chaos, and European countries, demanding payment on long-overdue loans, threatened to collect by armed force. At this point the US intervened.

In 1903 the Dominicans agreed to the appointment of resident US fiscal agents. In 1905 Theodore Roosevelt undertook the management of Dominican customs revenues and arranged settlements with creditor powers. Gradually the US assumed even greater control of Dominican finances, principally under the terms of a 1970 treaty. The experiment was a resounding fiscal success. Internal strife continued, however, and the US dispatched a small Marine force in 1912 and again in 1914 to protect US administrators. Finally in 1916 the US assumed complete responsibility for governing the country.

The US military ruled the Dominican Republic for 8 years. The Dominican congress was dissolved, US naval officers were appointed

to cabinet positions and key subordinate offices, and US officials overhauled the Dominican armed forces, creating the country's first regular army and organizing a native constabulary. One consequence of these military reforms was the undermining of the regional caudillos who had formed the backbone of former insurrections. US military government also instituted financial and educational reforms and public works projects resulting in increased prosperity for the Republic. Despite the rise in living standards however, Dominican hostility to the occupation intensified while US involvement was subjected to severe domestic and international criticism. Accordingly, President Wilson announced the end of the occupation in 1920, although a lengthy period of negotiation preceeded the establishment of an independent Dominican government, and the US retained some control over Dominican finances until 1941. Latent resentment of the occupation lingered and even today tends to color the Dominican attitude toward the US.

Trujillo Dictatorship (1930-1960)

Rising from obscure beginnings through the ranks of the constabulary to become commander of the army, Rafael Trujillo Molina proved ready to use his military position to advance to supreme power. Following a revolt against President Vasquez and the formation of a provisional government in 1930, Trujillo was elected president with the support of his army and immediately set about consolidating his position, launching a reign of terror, and ruthlessly suppressing all opposition. By 1936 he had established a complete and unchallenged dictatorship. Trujillo finally resolved the Dominican financial crisis, and his facade of social progress--opening new lands, building canals and roads, and modernizing the cities--was impressive. In human terms, however, the regime meant an atrophy of freedom, justice, and self-respect for the Dominican people.

The Republic's relations with its neighbors during the Trujillo era fluctuated violently. Although Trujillo settled a long-standing boundary dispute with Haiti in 1935, he later massacred thousands of Haitians who had entered the country in search of employment. Later though, his government made a cash restitution, and in 1951 he signed a treaty with Haiti. In 1951 Trujillo also ended a dispute with Cuba's Fulgencio Batista and signed a declaration of nonintervention before the Inter-American Peace Commission. But with the rise of Castro, relations between Cuba and the Dominican Republic once more soured. Trujillo generally followed a policy of friendly cooperation with the US and with few exceptions supported the US position in international affairs. He also cooperated with the OAS and supported the Western Hemisphere defense proposals.

Trujillo was unrelentingly anticommunist. During his reign there was no overt or covert communist activity in the Republic.

Dominican exiles, long a focal point of agitation in the Caribbean, first posed a major threat to Trujillo in 1959. At that time the rise of Castro and the installation of democratic government in Venezuela gave fresh impetus to the revolutionary cause. Small-scale forces associated with the Dominican Patriotic Union (UPD), a Dominican exile organization operating out of Cuba and Venezuela with some communist members and support, invaded the country on 14 June. The invasion failed, however, and resulted in a considerable demoralization of the Dominican liberation movement.

The abortive invasion was followed by a period of renewed repression and violence in the Dominican Republic, but opposition from several quarters mounted against the renewed terror. The Dominican bishops condemned the dictator's policies in January 1960. Venezuela's indictment of the Dominican government for violations of human rights

was confirmed by the OAS Inter-American Peace Committee. Finally, in August the American foreign ministers signed the San José resolution calling for a collective diplomatic break with Trujillo's government and for arms embargo. Pursuant to this resolution, on 8 August the US severed diplomatic relations and on 24 August, in 4 January 1961 the OAS Council voted limited economic sanctions against the Dominican Republic.

Trujillo was assassinated on 30 May 1961 by a group of Dominican military officers, but "Trujillismo" continued under the slain dictator's son and two brothers, who dominated the country through figurehead President Joaquin Balaguer. It was only the continued pressure of OAS political and economic sanctions that finally forced the Trujillo family from power in 1962 and led to the installation of a provisional council of state to prepare the way for free elections.

The Bosch Government (1963)

Dr. Juan Bosch, a writer and political scientist, returned from 25 years exile to head the left-of-center Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) to easy victory in these elections and was inaugurated on 27 February 1963. Bosch had a clear mandate to institute major political, economic, and social reforms, but his experience in exile had not prepared him to cope with the practical problems of the task. His ineffective government disappointed his party and the people, and Bosch himself never gained the confidence of the economic oligarchy because of his reform proposals. He lost the confidence of the armed forces because of his opposition to their special privileges and his permissive attitude toward communism.

While Bosch himself was not a communist or a communist sympathizer, he took no action to control communist activity on the ground that communism was not an urgent problem. There were two communist organizations in the Dominican Republic: the regular Communist Party (Dominican Popular Socialist Party-PSPD); and the Communist-Castroist Dominican Movement (MPD).

A more significant group--listed by US intelligence organizations as the "extreme left," "subversive," or a center of "militant disaffection," but not labelled as "Communist"--was the 14th of June Political Group (APDJ).

After the fall of Trujillo, the APDJ emerged as a "radically leftist party but one that refused to coalesce with the Communist MPD and PSPD."

(S) DIA, "Joint Intelligence Estimate for Planning, 1 July 1964 through 30 June 1976."

A military coup led by Colonel (after 25 April General) Elias Wessin y Wessin, commander of the powerful Armed Forces Training Center at San Isidro, overthrew the Bosch government on 25 September 1963 and created a civilian junta under Donald Reid Cabral to run the country. Although rightist politically, the Reid junta worked conscientiously to improve the lot of the Dominican people. Reid never won substantial popular support, however, and Bosch retained a large following. In the week preceeding the coup, the PRD was gradually intensifying its plotting for Bosch's return. Further, some of the younger officers, although

they had helped or tacitly accepted Bosch's ouster, were now engaged in the conspiricy to bring back the deposed president. Prominent among these were Lt. Col. Hernando Ramirez and Lt. Col. Montes Arache, the leader of the Navy's elite frogman unit. On 15 April, PRD leader Pena Gomez returned from Puerto Rico with funds to buy support for a coup from units of the Duarte, Mella, and Sanchez battalions,--the units that did launch the coup effort on 24 April.

[(S-Gp 1)]

US Dominican Policy (1963-1965)

The US had worked for the creation of a middle-of-the road popularly elected democratic government in the Dominican Republic aligned with the West. To this end it pressured the Dominican government to hold the 1963 elections and after Bosch's election adopted the following objectives:

1. Maintenance of the Bosch administration in power as the duly elected government for so long as it maintains a democratic, pro-Western orientation.

2. Orientation of that administration toward democratic, pro-Western policy objectives in both internal and external policies.

3. Isolation and control of the extreme left and extreme right.

4. Strengthening of the moderate, democratic elements and forces within the Dominican Republic.

5. Increasing the capability of the Armed Forces for maintaining internal security and strengthening of their ability to resist Communist subversion.

6. Support of the Bosch administration in a sound program of meaningful economic, social and political reforms within the framework of the Alliance for Progress.

(S) Latin American Policy Committee, "Dominican Republic: Plan of Action for the Period Beginning February 27, 1963," 21 Feb 63, attached to (S) Memo, DASD (ISA) to CJCS, I-23752/63, 12 Jun 63, JMF 9128.4/9105 (15 May 62).

In keeping with this policy, the US suspended all economic and military aid to the Dominican Republic when the Bosch government was overthrown. "The establishment and maintenance of representative and constitutional government is an essential element in the Alliance for Progress . . . ," said Secretary of State Rusk in announcing this action to the press. "Under existing conditions . . . there is no opportunity for effective collaboration by the United States under the Alliance for Progress or for normalization of diplomatic relations." The US later recognized the new government when Reid announced his intention to hold free elections, issued a decree setting forth election timetables, and gave public assurances of respect for civil and political liberties.

(U) "Statement by Secretary Rusk, [illegible]," Dept of State Bulletin, [illegible], 12[illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible].

The US contingency plan for the Dominican Republic in force at the time of the 1965 revolt was CINCLANT's OPLAN 310/2-63 (redesignated 373-64 in March 1964). CINCLANT noted that US military intervention in the Dominican Republic might be directed if the Dominican government became hostile to the aims and objectives of the US or OAS, if severe internal disorders occurred in the Republic, or if the government or a group "claiming" to exercise authority requested military aid. The object of any US military action would be the restoration or support of a government friendly to the US, approved by a substantial group of OAS members, and supported by a significant portion of the Dominican people. CINCLANT added that "in all planning, consideration will be given to the development of sound social, economic, military and political structures in the Dominican Republic."

The OPLAN authorized courses of action from a show-of-force operation through blockades and air interdiction to evacuation operations and ground intervention by airborne or amphibious groups. The plan went into effect on 27 April when President Johnson ordered the landing of US troops.

~~(TS~~-Gp 3) CINCLANT OPLAN 373-65, 4 Mar 64, JMF 3142-373.

APRIL

24 Apr 65 An appeal for mass action against the Reid government, broadcast in the early afternoon by two stations owned by PRD Finance Secretary Jose Brea Pena, signalled the beginning of the Dominican revolution. Demonstrations broke out in Santo Domingo, and at about 1400 crowds gathered before the National Palace demanding a return to the 1963 constitution. In response to a presumably pre-set signal, people driving in the city began sounding their horns, and in an apparently well-planned move at 1500 a group of young army officers under Lt. Col. Hernando Ramirez (see introduction) captured the government's Radio Santo Domingo, where a PRD leader, Francisco Pena Gomez, broadcast the "fall" of the Reid government and the "restoration" of the 1963 constitution. He also appealed for large-scale demonstrations in support of the revolt. After his broadcast, demonstrations spread throughout the city, but government troops regained control of the radio station shortly before 1600 and dispersed the demonstrators in the vicinity, although large crowds continued to roam the streets.

[C] "preselected agitators" kept urging the crowds--for the most part people from Santo Domingo's poorest sections--to return to the palace and radio station after each dispersal by the police. The police were using fire hoses, tear gas, and overhead submachinegun fire to keep the crowds away.

All times are local time-EST. [(S-Gp 1)] Facts to JCS, et al., 250345Z Apr 65, JCS on File, XXV, 1278. [(S-Gp 1)] [C]

At 2035 Reid reported to the nation on radio and TV that the country was "calm and under absolute control of the government" with the exception of two army bases, the 27th February (just outside the capital) and 16th August (25 kilometers from the city). To the rebellious troops at these camps Reid issued an ultimatum: surrender before 0500, 25 April, accepting a governmental offer of amnesty, or the loyal troops then surrounding the bases would take "necessary measures." Reid urged people living near the bases to leave the area and announced a curfew until 0600, 25 April. He added that elements of all services, including the police, were patrolling the streets to maintain order and protect property.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1036 to State, 250228Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29379.

Early US assessments of the situation said little about the political complexion of the rebels. [redacted] the old-line Communist Partido Socialista Popular Dominicano (PSPD) (see introduction) was "completely unaware of the attempted coup," but [redacted] members of the Castroite party, the Agrupacion Politica Catorce De Junio (APCJ) (see introduction) were in the streets at 1300 seemingly aware of the revolt.

The US Embassy also reported on the political

At the time of the revolt, the US Ambassador, W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., was in Washington on routine business, and the US Mission was headed by the Embassy's Charge, William Connett.

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situation, noting that PRD Secretary General Antonio Martinez had assured an Embassy officer that his party was not involved. He expressed concern over Communist activity, but said the coup was less a matter of political than internal military unrest, attributing it to the dissatisfied junior officers and noncoms. (The Embassy added, however, that Martinez was a pro-US moderate, and probably unaware of any coup plots in his own party.) The Embassy reported that Social Christian Labor Movement leader Henry Molina had also expressed surprise at the revolt. The Embassy concluded that the political situation remained unclear and admitted that the demonstrators' pro-Bosch sentiment seemed largely spontaneous, but it suspected that leaders of the PRD, Balaguer's Partido Reformista (PR), and certain "extremists" were responsible for the revolt.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1037 to State, 250303Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29434. (S-Gp 1)

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25 Apr 65 President Reid's plan to surround the rebel camps was frustrated, partly by the Dominican military leaders who refused to "kill their brother officers," and partly by several senior officers [redacted] who, although not involved in the insurrection, secretly dispatched junior officers to assume command of loyal units. These officers in turn instructed the troops not to fight. In an attempt to strengthen his position, Reid appointed General Elias Wessin y Wessin Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces.

[redacted] In the early morning hours, however, rebel troops began infiltrating Santo Domingo, issuing pistols and machine guns to civilians. They also tried, but failed, to recapture Radio Santo Domingo.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, JAFAF Attaches Santo Domingo to CNO, et al., 251402Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29733. (C-Gp 1)

The US Embassy reported that Wessin and the other senior officers loyal to Reid were reluctant to fight because of the difficulty of urban combat and their desire to avoid bloodshed. These officers later recognized, however, that their failure to support Reid was leaving the way open to the political left to advance to power. Their proposed solution was to form a military junta, composed of nonrebel officers, to succeed Reid and then negotiate with the rebels. The Embassy concluded that "Reid's hours are numbered," but that the junta solution was probably impossible, since it would be unacceptable to the rebels who controlled most of the city.

Ibid.

[redacted]

(C-Gp 1) Msg, Santo Domingo 1043 to State, 251515Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29817.

Realizing that the military would not fight to save his government, President Reid agreed later in the morning to turn the government over to a military junta provided that he be permitted to name its members. When the rebel officers rejected this condition, however, Reid agreed to a rebel-appointed junta "in order to prevent useless bloodshed." The junta, finally appointed by the rebels and accepted by Reid, included Lt. Cols. Fernandez Perez, Caamano Deno, Hernando Ramirez, Avarez Holquin, and Gutierrez Ramirez. Key military officers loyal to the government, including Generals Wessin, Rivera Cuesta, Army Chief of Staff, and de los Santos, Air Force Chief of Staff, also accepted the junta on condition that it remain military in make up and serve only until a government could be elected before 1 September 1965.

[redacted]

The agreement lasted only a few hours. When the junta members assembled at the National Palace at 1530, they were met by about 70 leaders of the PRD who announced that they were there to participate in and preside over the junta. This pronouncement shattered the newly achieved unity of the officer corps. The majority of the rebel officers, declaring as their ultimate goal the return of Juan Bosch to power, decided

to form, in conjunction with [illegible], a "Constitutionalist Government" with [illegible] Rafael Molina Urena as provisional president. (These rebellious

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Molina had been President of the Chamber of Deputies during the Bosch regime and under the provisions of the 1963 constitution was next in line for the presidency in the absence of the president, vice-president, and president of the Senate.

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officers and civilians are hereinafter called Constitutionalists.) Another small group of rebel officers announced that they had not fought Reid's government in order to bring Bosch back to power and would prefer Joaquin Balaguer. The Service Chiefs and the rest of the officers loyal to the military junta agreement (thereafter called Loyalists because of that loyalty) would not agree to civilian participation in the junta, rejected the pro-Bosch officers' "Constitutional Government," so named because it sought to restore the "Constitutional" Bosch regime and the Constitution of 1963. The Service Chiefs issued an ultimatum to the military leader of the Constitutionalists, Lt. Col. Hernando, demanding that Molina not be sworn in as provisional president and that the Constitutionalists accept the original agreement for a military junta by 1600 hours. To reinforce the ultimatum four Dominican Air Force F-51's began circling the Constitutionalist-held National Palace at 1600 and ships of the Dominican Navy moved closer to shore. At 1630, the ultimatum still unanswered, the Air Force and Navy went into action. The F-51's made two firing passes at the Palace and at least two firing passes at the Constitutionalist's headquarters at the 27th February Camp. The Navy fired about four shells over the Palace, but no casualties were reported.

[ ] was still in control of the Loyalist military forces and [ ] all army commanders in the interior had reported their adherence to the military junta agreement and had agreed to send their troops to Santo Domingo if Wessin's forces proved inadequate.

[(~~X~~-Gp 1)

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In Washington, meanwhile, the State Department acted in response to the deteriorating situation. Secretary Rusk expressed concern over the appearance of "extreme leftist elements," in the demonstrations and instructed the Embassy to urge all Dominican military leaders to unite and form some type of provisional government capable of restoring order and preventing a Communist takeover. He also asked the Department of Defense to place vessels off the Dominican Republic suitable for the embarkation of up to 1,200 US citizens. At 0930 the JCS directed CINCLANT to dispatch the appropriate ships, and CINCLANT deployed Task Group 44.9 (under

Captain James [illegible] with the 6th Marine Expeditionary Unit aboard, with an evacuation capability of 3,600.

(C) Msg, State 633 to Santo Domingo, 25 May 65, JCS IN 30100. (C) Msg, State to Dep Dir for Ops, J-3, 251305Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29636. (C-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 9731 to CINCLANT, 251432Z Apr 65. (C-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 260306Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30094.

At 1600 the Embassy reported that the Loyalists had decided to fight because "the return of Bosch would mean surrendering country to Communists." They believed that the fight was "now against [Communists] and not exclusively with rebel elements of Army." The Embassy reported that the US Country Team also "felt strongly that it was against US interests for Bosch to return and assume control in Santo Domingo especially in view [of] extremist participation in coup and the announced Communist advocacy of Bosch's return as favorable to their long term interests." The Country Team had "reluctantly" agreed that the course of action taken by the Dominican Service Chiefs against the pro-Bosch Constitutionalists was the only one that might possibly prevent Bosch's return and contain the growing mob violence. While such a course might mean further bloodshed, the Country Team believed that the risk should be taken. The Team also concluded that a show of force or other military support for the Loyalists, requested several times in the afternoon by Wessin and his followers, would not serve the best interests of the US.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1051 to State, 252022Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29901.

At 1800 the US Embassy refused a PRD delegation's request for aid. They wanted the US to pressure the Dominican Air Force to stop the strafing. The Embassy expressed concern over the violence and a "situation favorable to Communists" and called for Dominicans of good will to act responsibly. Embassy officials suggested that if the PRD leaders could persuade the Constitutionalist military to negotiate with the Service Chiefs "in good faith and without preconditions," the Embassy would try to mediate.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1061 to State, 260100Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30028.

Meanwhile mob violence increased as the rebellion gained momentum in the capital. Throughout the day mobs continued to roam the streets of Santo Domingo, and sporadic firing was heard in the downtown area. The mobs

set fire to the headquarters of the National Civic Union Party and the Dominican Vanguard Party, two minor parties that had participated in the overthrow of Juan Bosch. Other mobs bombed and burned the progovernment newspaper Prensa-Libre and the headquarters of the Liberal Revolutionary Party, headed by Luis Amiana Tio -- one of the participants in the assassination of Trujillo. The mobs also sacked and burned Reid's automobile dealership, a government-owned shoe factory, and the homes of several known Trujillistas.

(U) NY Times, 26 Apr 65, 1. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1045 to State, 251630Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29755. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1053 to State, 252133Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29927.

The Constitutionalists tried to consolidate their position during the afternoon. They again seized control of Radio Santo Domingo, and PRD leaders and rebel officers broadcast the capitulation of the Loyalist military and the expected restoration of the Bosch regime. They also appealed for an end to the mob violence. At 1710 the station broadcast a speech by Juan Bosch from Puerto Rico in which he clearly identified himself with the rebellion and announced his imminent return to the Dominican Republic

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(U) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1046 to State, 251650Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29757; Santo Domingo 1049 to State, 251733Z Apr 65, JCS IN 29777. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 1060 to State, 260050Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30025.

[redacted]

(C) Msg, Santo Domingo 1067 to State, 261120Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30318.

At 2300 Radio Santo Domingo announced that Molina had summoned the Congress elected with Juan Bosch in 1963 to meet at 0800 on the 26th and had issued decrees permitting the return of all exiles, specifically including former President Balaguer.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1065 to State, 260600Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30181. [illegible] (S-Gp 1)

The Loyalists also initiated action. General Wessin began to move his tanks and troops toward the city from the Armed Forces Training Center at San Isidro, about 15 miles away. He was detained, however, by road blocks and a well-armed force on the Ozama River bridge, and as the day ended, Loyalist troops had not yet entered the city.

[illegible] (~~S~~-Gp 1)

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26 Apr 65

With the opposing forces unable to reconcile their differences, the violence that began as a revolt against the Reid government assumed the dimensions of a civil war. At the same time, [illegible] the civilian leadership abdicated its control to military; the Reid government had resigned in favor of a military junta, and the PRD leadership was rapidly losing control of the Constitutionalist movement to its left-wing military supporters.

[illegible] (~~S~~-Gp 1)

The violence grew more intense during the day. To support their troops stalled before the Duarte River Bridge, the Loyalist military forces launched an air attack on Santo Domingo, the bridge, and the 27th February encampment. The Air Force later shifted its attack to the Constitutionalist-held National Palace, with F-51's making strafing runs at tree-top level. In retaliation, the Constitutionalist's military forces armed thousands of civilians with submachine guns and rifles, and civilian-manufactured incendiary bombs, loaded with gasoline freely dispensed by the city's service stations, were distributed by the thousands. They also announced over Radio Santo Domingo that the families of the attacking pilots were being taken as hostages to the points under attack and called on the public to sack the pilots' homes.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1066 to State, 261110Z Apr 65. (C-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1068 to State, 261145Z Apr 65 and 1070, 261325Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30354. (U) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1069 to State, 261318Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30357 and 261522 Apr 65. (U) NY Times, 27 Apr 65, 1.

[illegible] Charge Connett, pointed out that the Navy's adherence to the Constitutionalist cause, the establishment of a provisional government under Molina, and the continuing Constitutionalist control of Radio Santo Domingo had further weakened the position of the Loyalists. He also doubted Loyalist control of Army units in the regional centers. In a lengthy cable Connett reported:

> Probably nothing short of major US involvement could prevent Bosch's return at this stage. . . . We believe commitment of U.S. combat forces in the present circumstances would have extremely serious implications for our foreign relations and particularly serious repercussions in Latin America. . . . We do not believe we could effectively make a case that this is a Communist-controlled movement at the present time, although we all know that Communists are deeply involved in the rebel movement . . . . Only effective alternative we see . . . is a strong diplomatic initiative designed to prevent the return of Bosch through creation of a military junta which will schedule elections for September. We believe there is serious threat of a Communist takeover in country and that very little time remains in which to act. Under these circumstances, we recommend that we be authorized here to make clear to Molina Urena and rebel military officers our serious concern about Communist influence in the present revolutionary movement, our desire to avoid continuing public disorder and intra-service fighting, and our strong conviction that the formula suggested above of a military junta with elections in September is in the best interests of the Dominican Republic.

(~~3~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1071 to State, 261330Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30374.

In the early afternoon the Embassy suggested another line of action: It recommended a direct approach be made to Juan Bosch in Puerto Rico. Using someone who enjoyed Bosch's confidence, the US could spell out for the exiled leader the extent of Communist "participation in and utilization of the rebel movement" and the US conviction that respected PRD leaders in the Dominican Republic "are far from in control of the party." The US emissary could also point out the "disposition on the part of some elements of the military and virtually all non-Communist political parties to accept a military junta that would promise Bosch and Balaguer the right to return and to hold an election on September 1." Such an election, the emissary could say, offered the solution "best calculated to confound extremists, while satisfying legitimate aspirations of the Dominican people."

(C-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1088 to State, 261855Z Apr 65, JCS IN 31038.

While these suggestions were being weighed in Washington, the Embassy continued action in other areas. Although US efforts to bring about negotiations had failed, the Embassy's Air Attache did succeed in persuading Air Force Chief of Staff de los Santos to delay further air attacks on the city for two hours. The Embassy also continued preparations for the evacuation of US nationals and advised Americans to prepare for possible withdrawal. The State Department asked the Embassy to approach "highest authorities in Santo Domingo and leading military officers on both sides" and request an immediate cease-fire to allow for the safe evacuation of US citizens. The Department added that the US wanted to "build on the cease-fire" to obtain same kind of provisional government.

The Embassy did secure an agreement for a cease-fire effective when evacuation operations began, the Constitutionalists agreeing to allow US helicopters to land next to the Embajador Hotel and US ships to dock at Haina west of the city. At 1530 the Embassy recommended to Washington an emergency evacuation plan using ships loading at Haina and a helicopter lift from the polo field next to the Embajador Hotel direct to ships offshore. Helicopters would also pick up evacuees from Santiago and other inland points if necessary.

(C-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1080 to State, 261600Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30746; 1081, 261613Z, JCS IN 30732; and 1095, 262352Z Apr 65, JCS IN 31321. (C) Msg, State 634 to Santo Domingo, 261830Z Apr 65, JCS IN 30788. (C) Msg, Santo Domingo 1091 to State, 262030Z Apr 65, JCS IN 31039.

In response to a JCS request for operational evaluation and recommendations, CINCLANT admitted at 2330 that the Embassy's plan appeared feasible except for the helicopter evacuation from inland points. Because of the long distances, CINCLANT suggested rather the use of fixed-wing aircraft from Santiago Airport or surface evacuation through Puerto Plata to a ship positioned off the north coast.

(U) Msg, JCS 9783 to CINCLANT, 262213Z Apr 65. (C-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 270430Z Apr 65, JCS IN 31603.

The JCS directed CINCLANT to place in DEFCON 3 status the following forces detailed under CINCLANT OPLAN 310/2: two airborne battalion combat teams together with the required airlift; tactical air units necessary to support an assault landing or combat

operations by the above; and appropriate command, control, and support forces. The JCS also directed the alerting of one Marine fighter squadron.

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(25) Msg, JCS 9602 to CINCLANT, 262349Z Apr 65.
(26) Rpt, J-3, for Dep SecDef, "Data Concerning Roles and Actions of the Department of Defense in the Dominican Republic, 22 Apr-22 Jun 65," n.d., p. II-1-1 (hereinafter cited as DOMREP Data).

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27 Apr 65 Despite US mediation efforts, the military situation worsened. At about 0300 the Loyalists broadcast an ultimatum to the Constitutionalists, demanding that they agree to the formation of a military junta that would promise free elections by 1 September or face "maximum bombardment" of the capital.

An effort was made to prevent the threatened bombardment. Speaking as a private citizen, Constitutionalist Foreign Minister Maximo Lovaton approached US officials with a plan. Concluding that the solution lay in the hands of the military, he suggested that the following proposition be made to the military officers on both sides: if both the Constitutionalists and Loyalist military agreed to negotiate, the Loyalists would agree to cancel the bombardment. He would deliver the proposition to the Constitutionalists; he wanted the US Embassy to contact the Loyalists. The Embassy did agree to contact the Loyalist military, but in the words of Charge Connett, "continuous strenuous efforts [on] our part [to]bring two sides together seem to have failed." At 1145 the Loyalist Air Force attacked the city, and the Navy, returning its allegiance to the Loyalists, joined in shelling Santo Domingo. Under cover of the air and naval bombardment, General Wessin's tanks and infantry fought their way across the Duarte bridge. Within the city meanwhile, violence continued unabated.

(27-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1108 to State, 270930Z Apr 65. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 1110 to State, 271300Z Apr 65. (28-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1111 to State, 271415Z Apr 65. (C) Msg, Santo Domingo to DIRNSA, CRITIC THREE, 271615Z Apr 65. (29-Gp 1) (U) NY Times, 28 Apr 65, 1. (30) DIA Intell Bul 82-65, 28 Apr 65, 1.

US involvement in the crisis took a new turn when Secretary Rusk issued detailed policy instructions, and Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett returned from his Washington consultations. At 1513 Secretary Rusk listed for American officials in Santo Domingo the following "primary objectives": the restoration of law and order, the prevention of a possible Communist takeover, and the protection of American lives. In pursuance of these objectives, the Secretary ordered the Embassy to contact the military leaders of both sides and suggest to them the establishment of a military junta to act as a provisional government and to hold free and democratic

elections as soon as possible. The Embassy was not to become involved in details of forming the Junta, but was to urge that there be no preconditions regarding participation in it. The Embassy should also seek assurances from both sides that there would be no reprisals.

(S-LIMDIS-Gp 3) Msg, State 644 to Santo Domingo, 272013Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32579. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 1116 to State, 271715Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32393.

Ambassador Bennett immediately began a series of consultations with the Constitutionalist military leaders. In the early afternoon he met with Captain Mario Pena Taveras and other Constitutionalist officers and talked, by phone, with PRD Secretary General Antonio Martinez Francisco. Bennett told them all that it was time to "put an end to this senseless slaughter," that the US wanted a "cease-fire to give opportunity to form a government which can effectively govern," that the Constitutionalists were obviously not doing so, that the "extreme left is taking full advantage of the situation," and that as force was "clearly now on the other side it was time to capitulate."

The Embassy also conveyed the same message to Juan Bosch when a US official told Martinez "to inform Bosch that we believed strongly that the moment had come for him . . . to call on his countryment to lay down their arms."

(S-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1118 to State, 271815Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32470; and 1119 to State, 271830Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32626.

A third exchange between Bennett and the Constitutionalists came about 1600 when Molina Urena and his principal supporters, apparently convinced that they were losing, came to the Embassy to say they were now ready to negotiate and to request Bennett to act as mediator. Bennett, in reporting the ensuing conversation to the Department of State, said that he "made clear our emphatic view senseless shedding of blood must end, at the same time reminding them it was their action on Saturday which initiated this fratricide." This "effort to restore Bosch was obviously unsuccessful," Bennett had said, and "it was high time they approach the other side for talks," but he had "declined courteously" Molina's proposal to attend negotiating sessions on the ground that the agreement should be reached by the Dominicans among themselves. Bennett added that he had "underlined and reiterated there was no question Communists had taken advantage of their legitimate movement, having been tolerated and even encouraged by the PRD."

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1128 to State, 280230Z Apr 65, JCS IN 33387.

Bennett's comments produced a [illegible] reaction. Following the interview with Bennett, Molina resigned as Acting President of the Constitutionalist government. He and several other prominent liberal democratic politicians of the PRD took refuge in the Colombian and Ecuadorian Embassies or escaped behind Loyalist lines. In addition to Molina, the principal defectors were Maximo Lovaton, Jose Pena Gomez, Lt. Col. Hernando Ramirez, and Antonio Martinez Francisco. For some, however, Bennett's words seemed to have the opposite effect. Reminiscing in a later press interview, Lt. Col. Caamano said, "we left deeply offended by his attitude . . . . We decided to fight on with the people until we had won." After the defection of Molina and the others, Caamano and Montes Arache claimed command of the Constitutionalist movement.

(U) Wash Post, 10 May 65, A8. [(S-Gp 1)
(U) Msg, Santo Domingo 1150 to State 281915Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34502.

Encouraged by the reported progress of Loyalist forces and b the Constitutionalist proposals for negotiations, Bennett reported to the Department of State that the Loyalists should be able to "mop up . . . but some of it may be rough." The Department, in reply, advised Bennett to urge on Wessin a policy of moderation in dealing with the Constitutionalist. Acting to speed the "mop up," Bennett called in Police Chief General Despradel and told him that his first duty was to "restore public order to that innocent people may live in peace." Despradel promised that the streets would be cleaned up that night. By nightfall, however, the Loyalist had been unable to make any significant advance into the city and had actually been driven back across the Duarte Bridge. They halted operations for the night, planning to resume the attack in the morning.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1125 to State, 272247Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32898. (S-LIMDIS) Msg, State 653 to Santo Domingo, 27 Apr 65, JCS IN 33293. [(S-Gp 1)

The protection of US citizens, the third US objective in Secretary Rusk's list, was under way in the form of a large-scale evacuation. At 0027 the Embassy clarified the proceedure for Captain Dare, Commander Task Group 44.9: 1) all evacuation would be through the port of Haina; 2) transfer from the Embajador Hotel to Haina would be by surface means; 3) the use of helicopters was not anticipated; and 4) augmentation of administrative or medical personnel at the port would probably not be necessary. A half hour later the State Department informed the Embassy, the JCS, CINCLANT, and others that "target hour" for evacuations was being deferred until later in the day when "developments next six to eight hours can be assessed."

(C-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1109, to CTG 44.5, 270527Z Apr 65, JCS IN 31656; State 643 to Santo Domingo, 270558Z, JCS IN 31672. (TS) NMCC OPSUM 98-65, 28 Apr 65, 1.

At 0600, Embassy officers set up evacuation facilities at the Embajador Hotel. Evacuees assembled at the hotel and processing proceeded smoothly until about 0815, when a group of about 20 armed men arrived to search for newspapermen and radio and television commentator Rafael Bonilla Aybar who had left about an hour before. While the search was in progress, submachine-gun fire broke out, allegedly because the searchers had been fired on from an upper floor. Their leader assured Embassy officers he did not want to harm Americans, but refused to call off the search. About 1030, Army Lt. Col. Venencio Fernandez Perez arrived with a body of troops and assumed control of the hotel.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1123 to State, 272042Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32718.

The Ambassador, meanwhile, had determined that no Americans in other parts of the country wished to be evacuated. The Embassy reported that the evacuation cease-fire had been extended, and that Americans were being moved from the hotel to the port after Commodore Rivera Caminero assured the US Air Attache that the route from the hotel to the port would be secure.

(C) Msgs, Santo Dominto 1115 to State, 271525Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32311; and 1127, 272325Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32851.

At 1048, the Department of State authorized Ambassador Bennett to proceed with the evacuation at his discretion. At 1157 the JCS, at the request of the Department of State, directed CINCLANT to evacuate the refugees to San Juan, Puerto Rico, and to return the Task Group to station off Santo Domingo upon completion of the operation.

(C-Gp 3) Msgs, State 645 to Santo Domingo, 271548Z Apr 65; JCS 9840 to CINCLANT, 271657Z Apr 65. (C) Msg, Asst SecState Vaughn to JCS, 271725Z Apr 65.

By 1330, all evacuees had cleared the Embajador area. At 1415, USS Richamkin docked at Haina to be followed by USS Wood County at 1515. By 1720, all evacuees had walked aboard these two ships or had been helicopter-lifted aboard USS Boxer and USS Raleigh offshore. (For the number evacuated, see Appendix.)

(C-Gp 4) Msgs, CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON, 271846Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32582; and 272156Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32782. (C) Msg, CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON, 271940Z Apr 65, JCS IN 32694. (C-Gp 4) Msg, CTG 44.9 to CINCLANTFLT, 281306Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34128.

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Military operations continued with neither side gaining the advantage. In the morning the Loyalists resumed the offensive when Wessin's tanks and infantry joined battle with Constitutionalists holding the Duarte Bridge, and the Air Force resumed its bombing and strafing of Constitutionalist-held areas of the city. The Embassy reported indications of some initial Loyalist successes, particularly the seizure of the National Palace by forces under Brigadier General Antonio Imbert Barreras. Further, despite indications of looting and indiscriminate shooting in some areas of the city, the Embassy reported that the better residential quarters and the downtown business district remained generally quiet. Even at the height of the Loyalist offensive, however, the Constitutionalists scored some successes. A force under Lt. Col. Caamano captured a police station in central Santo Domingo. At 1135 the Embassy, still optimistic of a Loyalist victory, pointed out that Caamano had been surrounded by Loyalist forces and given the choice either to surrender or suffer direct attack.

(C-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1137 to State, 281904Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34123; 1139, 281529Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34016; 1145, 281707Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34090; and 1144 to State, 281635Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34120.

Ambassador Bennett continued efforts to end the crisis by encouraging the formation of a stable government and urging that the US supply materiel for the Loyalist forces. In accordance with the State Department instructions of 25 April, he urged the Loyalists to form a military junta. About 1100 the Air Force radio announced the establishment of a junta consisting of three officers: Air Force Colonel Pedro Bartolome Benoit, Army Colonel Enrique Apolinar Caeado Saladin; and Navy Captain Manuel Santana Carrasco. The junta announced that it would prepare the nation for free and democratic elections and the subsequent installation of a constitutional regime.

(C-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1139 to State, 281529Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34016, and 1143, 281629Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34028. (C) Msg, Santo Domingo 1136 to State, 281135Z Apr 65, JCS IN 33652.

Bennett also tried to obtain materiel support for the Loyalists. At 0635 he recommended that the US honor a request by General de los Santos for 50 walkie talkie radios needed to coordinate the attacks of the Loyalists' widely dispersed forces. The State Department replied that the US had not yet intervened, except to urge unity and the restoration of law and

[redacted] Bennett's reports that the Loyalists were winning and that the outcome was merely a matter of time. The radios would be sent to the Boxer, however, where they would be available "if critical to outcome."

(c) Msg, Santo Domingo 1136 to State, 281135Z Apr 65, JCS IN 33652. (c) Msg, State 657 to Santo Domingo, 281713Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34460.

Bennett's reply was a reversal of his early optimism. Shortly after noon he reported to the Department that the battle was not running so strongly in favor of the Loyalists. Citing the opinions of the Service attaches, Bennett claimed that delivery of the radios was critical and "could well mean the difference in results of present confrontation" because Loyalist forces, though numerically superior, were widely dispersed. Equally important, said Bennett, would be the adverse effect on Loyalist morale if the US refused the radio equipment. The "issue here now is a fight between Castro-type elements and those who oppose it. I do not wish to be over dramatic, but if we deny simple communications equipment and the opposition to a leftist takeover here loses for lack of heart or otherwise, we may well be asking in the near future for landing of Marines to protect US citizens and possible for other purposes. Which would Washington prefer?" After receipt of this message the US reversed its earlier decision and shipped the radio sets to San Isidro where they arrived late that night.

(c) Msg, State 650 to Santo Domingo, 282138Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34456. (c-Gp 4) Msg, COMCARIBSEAFRON to CINCLANTFLT, 290021Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34966. (c-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1146 to State, 281718Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34119.

As the day wore on, the position of the Junta forces became more critical, and reports from Santa Domingo became increasingly alarming. At 1350 Bennett reported that the Loyalist forces had not advanced beyond the bridgehead on the west bank of the Ozama River, and that Colonel Benoit, a member of the Loyalist Junta, had requested the landing of 1,200 US Marines "to help restore peace." Bennett said that he had not encouraged Benoit and did not believe "the situation justifies such action at this time." With its preponderant though geographically separated force, Bennett reported, the Loyalist logically "should be able to bring the situation under control, but the situation not really very logical and severe test of nerves now in process." At 1500, the Embassy reported that the Loyalists had still made no serious effort to take the police station captured by Caamano, and that the telephone company headquarters and Royal Bank of Canada building had fallen to the Constitutionalists. At 1515, Bennett dispatched a CRITIC message to Washington reporting that the Loyalists had just made a formal request for "unlimited and immediate" US

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military assistance. Twenty-five minutes later, the Ambassador dispatched another CRITIC message recommending the immediate landing of Marines. In support of this recommendation, Bennett described a rapidly deteriorating situation, with the Loyalist forces exhausted and disorganized and on the point of "quitting," with the police force in a state of collapse, and with American lives in danger. Bennett suggested that Marines establish an airhead in the area of the Embajador Hotel and the adjacent polo field, and send a detachment to protect the Embassy.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1149 to State, 281850Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34193. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1151 to State, 282000Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34406. (C) Msgs, Santo Domingo to DIRNSA, 282015Z and 282040Z Apr 65, both CRITIC FOUR. (C-Gp 4) Msgs, CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON, 282122Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34731 and 282154Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34492.

President Johnson received Bennett's second CRITIC message at 1615, and with the concurrence of Secretaries Rusk and McNamara decided to comply with the Ambassador's request. The JCS then directed CINCLANT to: 1) direct Task Group 44.9 and Carib Ready Phibron elements to close Santo Domingo ready to land and protect American citizens when requested by the US Ambassador; 2) close remaining air elements of the Marine Expeditionary Unit assigned to the task group; 3) land all Marines now in Boxer to secure the area surrounding the Embajador and the adjacent polo field, when requested by the US Ambassador; 4) conduct a show-of-force overflight of the environs of Santo Domingo by two flights of tactical aircraft, subject to request by the US Ambassador; and 5) direct the two airborne battalions, tactical support air units, and appropriate command and control support forces alerted on 26 April to be ready for instant departure when so ordered. At the same time CINCSTRIKE, CINCSAC, and CINCONAD were ordered to provide necessary forces and support to CINCLANT.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 9987 to CINCLANT, et al., 282321Z Apr 65. (U) Transcript of SecState's News Conference 26 May 65, Dept of State Bulletin LII, 1355 (14 Jun 65), 942.

At 1800, Ambassador Bennett dispatched another CRITIC message, reporting that Police Chief Despradel could no longer guarantee the safety of Americans enroute to the evacuation area, that American residents reported their residential areas without police protection, and that the AID office had been broken into. Moreover, the Constitutionalists were firing on the evacuation area and Colonel Benoit had reported his situation deteriorating rapidly.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo, CRITIC SIX, to DIRNSA, 282300Z Apr 65.

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At the Ambassador's request, the Commander, Task Force 44.9, began landing troops at 1820. By midnight he reported that 536 troops, consisting of two rifle companies and a battalion headquarters, had been landed by helicopters near the Embajador. His troops had met no hostile action, and at the Ambassador's request, no overflights were made. At 2320 the Ambassador reported that the Marines had established a base near the Embajador and had evacuated by helicopter all but 10 of the Americans desiring to leave.

(C-Gp 4) Msgs, CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON, 282320Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34593; and 290400Z Apr 65, JCS IN 35040. (C-Gp 4) Msg, COMCARIBSEAFRON to CINCLANTFLT, 282331Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34756. (C) Msg, Santo Domingo 1160 to State, 290300Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34943. (C) 6th MEU Command Diary, 9 Jul 65, Hist Br, HQMC.

Reports from Santo Domingo soon made it clear that the Marine landings might prove inadequate. At 2315 Ambassador Bennett reported that he hoped the presence of the US Marines would "give some heart to loyal forces." It was possible, he continued, that the Loyalists might soon tire or become physically incapable of maintaining their present position. In that event he recommended:

> Serious thought be given in Washington to armed intervention which would go beyond the mere protection of Americans and seek to establish order in this strife ridden country. All indications point to the fact that if present efforts of forces loyal to the government fail, power will be assumed by groups clearly identified with the Communist Party. If the situation described above comes to pass, my own recommendation and that of the Country Team is that we should intervene to prevent another Cuba . . . . Pending this decision we recommend that additional military units be dispatched to this area since present forces available are considered inadequate to perform the mission I have suggested as our last resort.

(Unknown) Msg, Santo Domingo 1155 to State, 282315Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34681.

Meanwhile, the US was preparing for further military commitments. At 1848 the JCS directed CINCLANT and other concerned commanders to place on DEFCON 3 status the four remaining airborne battalion combat teams listed in CINCLANT OPLAN 310/2, together with appropriate supporting tactical air units and command, control, and support forces. To reinforce Task Group 44.9, the USS Raleigh, which had transported refugees to Puerto Rico, was ordered to rejoin the Task Group at best speed, and four additional destroyers were transferred to the operational control of Captain Dare.

(S-Gp 2) Msgs, [illegible] to CINCLANT, 282249Z Apr 65, JCS IN 34742; [illegible] Apr 65, JCS IN 34732. (TS-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 9088 to CINCLANT, et al., 282348Z Apr 65.

In mid evening the US announced the landings. At 2000 President Johnson reported to the nation that about 400 Marines had landed "to give protection to hundreds of Americans who are still in the D.R. and escort them safely back to this country." At 2030, the US requested a special meeting of the Council of the Organization of American States for the next morning and informed the Ambassadors of Latin American countries of the Marine landing. All US diplomatic posts in Latin America were instructed to "avoid any suggestion that US is supporting or opposing any particular political faction or group," and to emphasize that the purpose of the landing was "to evacuate Americans and nationals of other countries desiring to leave."

(S) Msg, State Circ 2066, 28 Apr 65, JCS IN 35348. (S) Msg, State Circ 2064, 28 Apr 65, JCS IN 35367.

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Although the Loyalists announced an ambitious and optimistic plan for an "Operational Cleanup," the tide of battle began to turn in favor of the Constitutionalist forces. The Loyalist plan called for a "two-pronged circular movement" whereby Wessin's approximately 1,000 troops moving across the Duarte Bridge northwest through Santo Domingo would link up with a force of about 700 troops under General Salvador Augusta Montas Guerro moving northeast from the fair grounds on the western edge of the city.

[illegible] two other Loyalist units willing to join in the attack, but handicapped by inadequate communications facilities: a 400-man force under General Marcos Rivera Cuesta located at the quartermaster headquarters on the northwest outskirts of the city, and an approximately 300-man unit under Generals Felix Hermida and Atila Luna Perez near police headquarters. To support the Loyalist forces, Ambassador Bennett assigned MAAG Army and Air Forces officers to help with communications and operational planning at San Isidro. He also directed the Commander, 6th MEU, to deliver 4,000 MCl rations to San Isidro. Despite their ambitious plans, numerical superiority, and US assistance, the Loyalists did not launch an offensive, although their air attacks against Constitutionalist positions continued throughout the day.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1173 to State, 291421Z Apr 65, JCS IN 35777. (TS-Gp 1)

(S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1187 to State, 292023Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36501. (S) 5th MEU Command Diary, 9 Jul 56, op. cit. (S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1178 to State, 291725Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36084. (TS Gp 3)

It was the Constitutionalists, however, who pushed the attack, and the fighting went in their favor from the outset. They made the police stations their principal target and also attacked Rivera at the quartermaster headquarters. Although their major offensive against the police-held Ozama Fortress did not succeed during the day, they were able to seize many police stations, and snipers and groups of looters spread westward into the residential areas, pillaging and looting private homes, and violating several embassies, including those of Mexico, Guatemala, Perú, and Ecuador. At about 1100, snipers began firing into the US Embassy's administration building across the street from the Chancery. At 1340 they opened fire on US Marines guarding the Embassy grounds. The Marines were ordered to return the fire and two snipers were reported killed.

Other evidence indicated, however, that conditions of law and order were returning to the Constitutionalist-held areas. Peace Corps workers reported that the Barrio seemed quieter than on previous days, and two US business leaders informed the Embassy that people were leaving the downtown area without fear of "extremist reprisals."

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1178 to State, 291725Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36084. (S-Gp 1)

During the day the US Embassy published intelligence estimates of the relative strengths of the opposing ground forces. The Loyalists were credited with a force of approximately 2,400 troops operating under commanders who professed their readiness for an offensive operation. The Embassy cautioned, however, that these troops were tired and discouraged and that there was no positive operational control over them. Reestablishment of order by the Loyalist junta depended, therefore, on "whether 2,000 or so remaining ground forces of junta can hold together long enough to accomplish this mission. If they do not do it quickly, large defections are probably to be expected."

The Constitutionalist forces, barricaded in the narrow streets of the older quarter of the city, anachronistically termed Ciudad Nueva, were estimated by the Embassy to number somewhere between 3,500 and 6,500. Of these, 1,500 were believed to be a hard-core under the direct leadership of Communist-trained fighters, about 1,000 were regular army troops, and from 1,000 to 4,000 were described as "hangers on" who would fight only so long as they were winning. Information about the Constitutionalist leadership, its composition, organization, and plans, was partically nonexistent.

(~~S~~-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1187 to State, 2920232 Apr 65, JCS IN 36501. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1173 to State, 2914212 Apr 65, JCS IN 35777. (~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1187 to State, 2920232 Apr 65, JCS IN 36501. (~~S~~, 5th MEU Command Diary, 9 Jul 65. (~~S~~-Gp 1) [redacted]

A search for a solution to the crisis continued in Washington where both international and unilateral action was taken. In an effort to obtain international support for its actions, the US requested a special meeting of the OAS Council. At 0930 the Council heard Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker report the 28th April landings. The Council decided to allow time for its members to consult with their governments before convening a meeting of the Organ of Consultation. It did, however, dispatch a message to the Papal Nuncio in Santo Domingo, requesting him to try to arrange a cease-fire.

(~~C~~) Msg, State Cir 2116, 3 May 65. (U) Transcript of Secretary Rusk's News Conference of 26 May 65, Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1355 (14 Jun 65), 942.

That Washington was determined to act unilaterally if necessary was revealed in two messages. At 1326 the State Department directed Bennett to report whether direct intervention by US forces was necessary to save the situation and stated: "We cannot afford permit the situation [to] deteriorate to point where Communist takeover occurs." (Embassy reply, if there was one, is unavailable in JCS files.)

(~~S~~-EXDIS) Msg, State 681 to Santo Domingo, 29 Apr 65, JCS IN 36791.

At 1207 the Chairman, JCS, sent CINCLANT, for transmittal to Commander, Task Force 44.9, the following:

> 1. We believe that basic objective of American forces in Dominican area is not repeat not a Communist take-over in the island. You are not repeat not authorized to emply your forces for other than security of Americans without further instructions from Washington. However, you should maintain close watch on the situation and close contact with Ambassador Bennett, and you should recommend immediately the expansion of your mission should the situation demand.
>
> 2. Inform Ambassador of content of this message . . . .

(TS Msg, JCS to CINCLANT, [illegible] JCSM files.

Captain Dare delivered General Wheeler's message to Ambassador Bennett about 1400. The Ambassador readily agreed to the basic objective, and, according to his version of the meeting, "in view various reports coming in," authorized Dare to "bring ships in preparatory to landing. This will take two or three hours and gives us time to review situation again before finally committing troops to shore." CINCLANT's version, however, was that Bennett "requested remainder of landing force to land before dark."

(TS-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 300142Z Apr 65.
(TS-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo, CRITIC SEVEN, to DIRNSA, 292000Z Apr 65.

Although initial planning for the anticipated landing called for the troops to assemble at the Embajador and wait further orders, Ambassador Bennett believed the "current situation"--i.e., the failure of the Loyalists to launch an offensive, to augment their forces with troops from the interior, and to establish an adequate communications system for their widely scattered force, plus the low morale of their units--would make expansion of the US Marine perimeter necessary. The first phase of such an operation, the Ambassador reported to State, should be to secure the residential and embassy area of the city from the Embajador to the National Palace.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1187 to State, 292023Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36501.

Presumably, a high-level decision was made in Washington to land the remainder of the 6th MEU about the time Bennett and Dare were meeting in Santo Domingo and perhaps as the result of a telephone conversation between Washington and Santo Domingo.

At 1511 the JCS ordered CINCLANT to land the remainder of the 6th MEU. (Since CINCLANTFLT transmitted the order to his subordinates at 1508 it must be presumed that there had been a communication earlier than the 1511 order.) At 1518 Vice Admiral K. S. Masterson, Commander Joint Task Force 122, assumed local control of the US Dominican operation and ordered "land the landing force" at Red Beach near Haina. H-hour was set for 1630, and the first wave touched down at that time. No opposition was encountered, and by 1800 the major elements of the landing force were ashore. At 2100 the

infantry and armor had linked up with the Marine perimeter around the Embajador Hotel. The artillery and antitank weapons remained on the beach for the night. Marine strength ashore at 2400 totalled about 1,550.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1037 to CINCLANT, 292011Z Apr 65. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msgs, CINCLANTFLT to CTG 44.9, 292008Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36272; CTG 44.9 to COMCARIBSEAFRON, 292032Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36128; and CTG 44.9 to COMSECONDFLT, 292305Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36406. (~~TS~~-Gp 3) Rpt., CJTF 122, "Operation Power Pack, 28 Apr-7 May 1965," 9 May 65 (hereafter CJTF 122 Hist.) (~~TS~~) DomRep Data, p. I-2-2.

Anticipating that additional US forces might be required ashore, the JCS took the precaution of ordering the two alerted battalion combat teams of the 82d Airborne Division at Pope Air Force Base deployed to Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico. The first of 144 troop carrying C-130 aircraft took off from Pope at 1811, but shortly before midnight, the two battalion combat teams were diverted to San Isidro.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1023 to CINCLANT, et al., 291914Z Apr 65. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, CINCAFLANT OP to JCS, 292339Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36436. (~~TS~~-Gp 3) CJTF 122 Hist, III-III-2.

Late in the day, high-level US officials began considering a scheme to impose US forces between the Constitutionalists and Loyalists in order to bring about a cease-fire and allow the OAS time to settle the crisis. The JCS, accordingly, directed CJTF 122 to prepare an operation plan using the following guidelines: 1) the Constitutionalist forces were largely concentrated in the southeast portion of the city; 2) the object was to cordon off this area without unnecessarily endangering US troops; and 3) the plan should be based initially on forces already ashore and be expanded when airborne forces arrived. The JCS hoped this action could be executed in conjunction with a cease-fire. They requested the Task Force Commander's estimate of the forces required.

(~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, State 689 to Santo Domingo, 200445Z Apr 65, JCS IN 36996. (~~TS~~-Gp 1) Msg, JCS to CJTF 122, 300056Z Apr 65.

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With the initial landings completed, Admiral Masterson (CJTF 122) proceeded to carry out the JCS orders. At 0108 he submitted an operation concept, which he was prepared to execute unless otherwise directed. The

concept called for Army airborne troops then enroute to the Dominican Republic to secure San Isidro Airfield, then to relieve Loyalist forces on the east bank of the Ozama River, secure all Ozama River bridges, and establish a cordon and road blocks along the east bank of the river. Marine forces would establish a line in the western part of the city running north and south and about a block east of the American Embassy. Loyalist forces would be expected to patrol between the Army and Marine forces. Admiral Masterson estimated that if only US troops were to be used, two more battalions would be needed to seal off the southeast portion of the city.

Later in the morning CJTF 122 requested the deployment of four additional BCT's to San Isidro. Although no additional forces were deployed on 30 April, the JCS did direct CINCLANT and CINCSTRIKE to place the 101st Airborne Division and the three infantry battalions and brigade headquarters of the 82d Airborne Division remaining in CONUS on DEFCON THREE.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 300608Z Apr 65, (~~S~~) Msg, JCS 1137 to CINCLANT and CINCSTRIKE, 301804Z Apr 65.

The Army airborne forces, two battalion combat teams under Major General Robert York, CG 82d Airborne Division, began arriving at San Isidro at 0230 and proceeded to execute the CJTF concept. By 2000 York's troops had secured the Duarte Bridge and sent out reconnaissance units to screen the east bank of the Ozama River from the bridge to the sea.

Operating under the same CJTF 122 plan, the 6th Marine Expeditionary Unit established a phase line west of the US Embassy. During the day, the Marine unit was reinforced by one rifle company airlifted from Cherry Point, North Carolina, to Guantanamo and sealifted from there to the Dominican Republic. The Marines reported casualties from sniper fire and received permission to return fire with 3.5 rocket launchers. One platoon of paratroopers was attached to the Mrine unit at the American Embassy.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, CJTF 122 to CINCLANT, 300608Z Apr 65. (~~TS~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1195 to AIG 936, 302336Z Apr 65. (~~TS~~) CJTF 122 Hist., pp. III-III-I-3 and 4.

The JCS ordered several changes in command arrangements during the day. General York was designated Commander Land Forces, Santo Domingo Area (CTF 120), with command of all forces ashore, both Army and Marine. CTG 44.5 was redesignated CTF 124. The JCS also directed CINCLANT and CINCSTRIKE to activate Headquarters XVIII Airborne Corps, Lieutenant General Bruce Palmer commanding, under operational control of

CINCLANT and move it to San Isidro. General Palmer and the XVIII Airborne Corps Headquarters (-), arrived at San Isidro at 2200 and prepared to assume command of all land forces.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1195 to AIG 936, 302336Z Apr 65. (~~S~~) Msg, JCS 1197 to CINCLANT and CINCSTRIKE, 301804Z Apr 65. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, COMLAN to JCS, 010720Z May 65, JCS IN 38717.

As US military intervention progressed, fighting between the Constitutionalist and Loyalist forces continued, but, as on previous days, the Loyalists proved incapable of retaining the offensive. By the end of the day, the Ozama Fortress police station had fallen to the Constitutionalists. The US Country Team now doubted the Loyalist commanders' determination "to see this thing through," and the Team had good reason to suspect that the Loyalists forces were incapable of accomplishing any mission assigned to them.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1207 to State, 301739Z Apr 65, JCS IN 37743. (~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1208 to State, 301825Z Apr 65, JCS IN 37780.

In the midst of the fighting the OAS was able to register some diplomatic gains. Through the good offices of the Papal Nuncio, a cease-fire agreement was signed by the Loyalists, two Constitutionalist representatives (attempts to get Col. Caamano's signature were postponed because of the danger in entering the Constitutionalist territory after dark), Ambassador Bennett, General York, the Papal Nuncio, and the head of the Dominican Red Cross. The cease-fire was based on two conditions: guarantee of personal safety to all individuals on both sides; and establishment of an OAS commission to act as arbiter between the two sides. Aiding the Nuncio in the long negotiations at San Isidro that proceeded the cease-fire agreement was John Bartlow Martin, former US Ambassador to the Dominican Republic and now a special representative of President Johnson sent to Santo Domingo on a fact-finding mission.

(~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, State 696 to Santo Domingo, 301615Z Apr 65, JCS IN 37652. (~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1217 to State, 010230Z Apr 65.

The OAS also stepped up its activity in Washington. The OAS Council adopted a resolution calling for a cease-fire and the establishment of an international neutral zone of refuge in Santo Dominto, "encompassing the geographic area of the city of Santo Domingo immediately surrounding the embassies of foreign governments."

Texts in Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1351 (17 May 65), 739-741.

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1 May 65 The US military buildup in the Dominican Republic continued. At 0720 General Palmer informed the JCS that he agreed with General York's estimate that present forces were inadequate. He noted that only two battalions of the 82d Airborne Division had landed and that "the next two battalions had been withheld. Assuming no change in basic objective outlined to me by Chairman JCS," he continued, "request air movement of 82d continue."

At 1000 General Palmer reported to the JCS that Loyalist forces had not moved into the gap between the Marines and Paratroopers as planned, apparently because Col. Benoit considered such a move a cease-fire violation. There was civilian movement through the gap in US forces toward the inland city of Santiago, and there were reports that the Valle Nuevo communication center might be the target of a "Castro-directed" take over. Palmer also reported landings from an "unidentified, possibly Castro, submarine." In view of these developments, Palmer again asked the JCS for more forces -- "on the order of four more battalions of 82d Airborne and we need a third BLT of Marines . . . . At this juncture seems only prudent to deploy more US forces. We should not send a boy to do a man's job."

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1214 to AIG 936, 011224Z May 65. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, COMLAN to JCS, 010720Z May 65, JCS IN 38717. (~~TS~~-Gp 1) Msg, JTF 120 to JCS, 011455Z May 65, JCS IN 39461.

After receiving this message, the JCS ordered CINCLANT to deploy additional forces to the Dominican Republic as follows: 1) the remainder of the 4th MEB; 2) Marine BLT 1/2 in USS OKINAWA; and 3) 3rd and 4th BCTs of the 82d Airborne Division. The JCS also directed CINCLANT to prepare to load the 5th and 6th BCTs of the 82d Airborne Division upon turn around of the airlift used for the 3rd and 4th BCTs. In addition about 600 Marines of BLT 1/6 arrived in the Dominican Republic during the day.

The JCS also ordered the following changes in command and command relationships: 1) that CINCLANT activate CINCARLANT, CINCAFLANT and CINCLANTFLT as Army, Air Force, and Navy Commanders responsible under him for preparation, movement, and control of designated forces to the Dominican Republic; and 2) that General Palmer relieve General York as COMLANDFOR-DOMREP (CTF 120).

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msgs, JCS 1218 to CINCLANT, 011609Z May 65; 1219, 011611Z May 65; 1220, 011612Z May 65; 1221, 011621Z May 65. (~~TS~~) CJTF 122 Hist, pp. III-III-2, 3, 7. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, COMLANDFORDOMREP to CJTF 122, 012145Z May 65. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1216 to CINCLANT and CINCSTRIKE, 011550Z May 65.

President Johnson made a public statement on the American troop buildup of the previous day, saying it was necessary in order to man the international safety zone called for by the OAS, and thereby protect the lives and insure the safe evacuation of all foreign nationals. In another public statement, the President explained that the US goal in the Dominican Republic was "that the people of that country must be permitted to freely choose the path of political democracy, social justice, and economic progress. Neither the United States, nor any other nation, can want or permit a return to that brutal and oppressive despotism which earned the condemnation and punishment of this hemisphere and of all civilized humanity."

(U) Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1351 (17 May 65), 743-744.

Meanwhile, in Santo Domingo US Marine and Army units continued to hold their positions under sniper fire. Airborne forces returned fire from a rebel gunboat in the Ozama River and sank it. Contact was made between the Army and Marine forces by a paratroop patrol.

(~~TS~~) CJTF 122 Hist, p. III-1-5.

Again the OAS held center stage in the diplomatic play surrounding the Dominican crisis. It established a five-member committee (with representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, and Panama):

> a. to offer its good offices to the Dominican armed groups and political groups and to diplomatic representatives for the purpose of obtaining urgently:
>
> i. a cease-fire; and
>
> ii. the orderly evacuation of the persons who have taken asylum in the embassies and of all foreign citizens who desire to leave the Dominican Republic; and
>
> b. to carry out an investigation of all aspects of the situation in the Dominican Republic that led to the convocation of this Meeting; . . .

(U) Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1351 (17 May 65), 741.

The cease-fire agreement [illegible] was further strengthened when Ambassador Martin succeeded in obtaining the signature of Col. Caamano and several other military officers of the Constitutionalist Command. Despite the agreement, however, Constitutionalist sniping continued throughout the day.

(✓-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1256 to State, 020810Z May 65, JCS IN 40371.

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2 May 65

The OAS cease-fire stopped most of the fighting in Santo Domingo; only scattered incidents marred the calm. There was sporadic shooting in the US Embassy area, and a US helicopter was fired on by small arms during a morning reconnaissance flight. Two armed patrols attempted to infiltrate Marine positions in the embassy quarters and were decisively repulsed. US Marines also drew fire in the northeastern part of the city. Otherwise, the city remained quiet, and for the first time in four days, no armed groups were seen on the streets. The five-man OAS commission arrived about noon and immediately began consultations with the diplomatic representatives of their own countries. These consultations were followed by meetings with the Papal Nuncio, Police Chief Despradel, Ambassador Bennett, and General Palmer.

(✓-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1260 to AIG 936, 030052Z May 65. (✓-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1270 to State, 021900Z May 65, JCS IN 41040. (✓-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1276 to State, 022246Z May 65; and 1303, 031450Z May 65, JCS IN 42020.

The political situation remained basically unchanged. Ambassador Bennett reported that no effective government existed. The closest thing to a government in the Dominican Republic was the Loyalist junta, but the junta was very weak, had little real support, was indecisive, and lacked the stature, education, will, or experience with which to govern. The Loyalists' efforts to form a cabinet had not been successful. The Ambassador held little hope for a negotiated solution under present cease-fire conditions notwithstanding the presence of the OAS committee. He believed the cease-fire strengthened the Constitutionalist position.

In Bennett's opinion, however, there was no danger of a Castroite or Communist take-over so long as the US kept strong forces ashore. He recommended that the US "discreetly help junta commence operating as some kind of government," and then, with the establishment of a legal base and recognized government, disarm the Constitutionalists. He said that the US had two "psychological" problems in the Dominican Republic: explaining its presence there, and "the wide-spread popular belief we are supporting Wessin against the people. Wessin has become

cete-noire and is [illegible]." The Ambassador added, "we must push as hard as possible to correct misleading impressions concerning our role here."

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1284 to State, 030125Z May 65, JCS IN 41185. (~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1257 to State, 020900Z May 65, JCS IN 40376.

Washington was conscious of the psychological battle. Once again President Johnson went on television to explain the US intervention, announcing that he had ordered two additional battalions (2,000 men) to the Dominican Republic earlier in the day and that just prior to the broadcast he had directed the landing of 4,500 additional men at the earliest possible moment. The President said that what had begun as a popular democratic revolution had been seized by "a band of communist conspirators." He stated that the US goal was "to save the lives of our citizens and to save the lives of all people" and "to help prevent another communist state in this hemisphere."

(U) NY Times, 3 May 65, 10.

The US also began psychological warfare operations in Santo Domingo. Pamphlets were dropped and airborne and truck-mounted loudspeakers were employed without incident. Both operations stressed the peaceful and nonpartisan nature of the US landing, and President Johnson's comments were quoted frequently. More extensive drops and loudspeaker operations were scheduled for the next day. [

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(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1249 to CINCLANT, 021734 May 65. (~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1274 to State, 022025Z May 65, JCS IN 41075. (~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1286 to State, 041214Z May 65, JCS IN 43876.

Continuing his mission as a special representative of President Johnson, former Ambassador Joseph Martin forwarded his views on the Constitutionalist movement to the State Department. Martin considered that what had begun as a PRD rebellion had been taken over by extremists, including military leaders "who have now gone so far they had nothing more to lose" and by hard core Castro/Communists. Martin said that Communist and non-Communist tags no longer mattered since the Constitutionalist leaders, especially Caamano, were "effective fanatics as Castro was from beginning." In Martin's opinion, the rank and file of the movement probably were not communists, but it was impossible to separate innocent followers from the leaders. Turning to an assessment of the Loyalists, Martin added that the Dominican army had virtually disintegrated, its "gutless generals waiting for us to do the job for them." Among the generals, Martin considered

Antonio Imbert the most [illegible] and the Loyalist [illegible] port and probably little future independent of US."

(C-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1258 to State, 020900Z May 65, JCS IN 40383.

The day's major story was the series of military moves taken to strengthen the US position in the Dominican Republic. At 0320, Commander, Joint Task Force 122, established the International Security Zone in a large area of the western part of the city that included the embassies, the Embajador Hotel, and the better residential districts in its boundaries. US Marines carried out the operation, and later in the afternoon they enlarged the zone, extending its eastern boundary two city blocks "to provide better security for the US Embassy." At the same time, paratroopers of the 82d Airborne Division held the western bank of the Ozama River, a line which they extended during the day 800 meters south along the river toward the sea. These moves resulted in a partial encirclement of the Constitutionalists in the old city area. A US paratroop motorized patrol did cross the northern boundary of the old city and made contact with the Marines in the ISZ, but not without casualties of two killed and two wounded, and Constitutionalist containment remained uncompleted.

(C-Gp 4) Msg, CJTF 122 to CTF 122, 020620Z May 65. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1301 to CJTF 122, 021151Z May 65, JCS IN 41656. (C-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1248 to AIG 936, 021632Z May 65.

In Washington the JCS were studying the problem of containing the Constitutionalist forces in the event that the cease-fire proved ineffectual. In a special meeting they considered a paper that concluded that the cease-fire was ineffectual. The paper considered the following three alternative perimeters designed to confine Constitutionalists activity to the southeastern portion of the city: (a) an "in-close" perimeter - sealing off the old quarter of the city; (b) a perimeter linking airborne elements at the Duarte Bridge on the east with Marine forces maintaining the ISZ on the west; and (c) a perimeter farther out on a line to be selected by CINCLANT. The paper concluded that the "in-close" perimeter was the most advantageous and that a perimeter linking the Duarte Bridge with the Marine forces in the ISZ could be drawn as the initial step in the execution of the "in-close" perimeter.

Ambassador Bennett was also concerned about containing the Constitutionalists. He informed the State Department that it was essential to close the gap between the US airborne forces and the Marines [illegible]

the ISZ as soon as possible [illegible] [illegible] safe land evacuation route [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and Punta Cauce [illegible] [illegible] OAS Secretary Mora agreed [illegible] [illegible] for a land route and concluded: "We must move now. Situation downtown increasingly ugly. Agitators reported already attempting stir mobs to anti-American fury."

At 1303 the JCS directed CINCLANT to have General Palmer prepare to establish at daylight 3 May a line of communication (LOC), perimeter linking Marine forces in the ISZ and airborne elements at the Duarte Bridge. Later the JCS sent an execute message ordering the operation to begin anytime after midnight 2/3 May.

In accordance with State Department instructions, Ambassador Bennett and General Palmer met with the OAS Commission and obtained its concurrence in action to establish the LCC between the Duarte Bridge and the ISZ.

(TS-Gp 1) Talking Paper, J-3TP-22-65, "Alternative Courses of Action in the Dominican Republic (C)," 2 May 65. (S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1267 to State, 021800Z May 65, JCS IN 41066. (TS-Gp 1) Msg, JCS 1251 to CINCLANT, 021803Z May 65. (TS-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1261 to CINCLANT and CTF 120, 030140Z May 65. (S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, State 742 to Santo Domingo, 2 May 65. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1294 to State, 030520Z May 65, JCS IN 41254.

Although General Palmer considered his present force adequate to prevent any immediate Constitutionalist thrust, he told CINCLANT that it would not be sufficient to meet an all-out attack in Santo Domingo combined with uprisings in other parts of the country. He therefore requested the immediate deployment of two more battalions of the 82d Airborne Division and the remining battalion of the Marine Brigade and a minimum of one, preferably two, Air Mobile companies. He also requested that the remaining brigade of the 82d Airborne Division remain on alert at Fort Bragg.

(TS) Msg, CJTF 120 to CINCLANT, 021328Z May 65.

Responding at 1258 hours, the JCS directed CINCLANT to deploy "the remainder of the tactical air support units, including command, control and support elements to Ramey AFB." At 1326 the JCS instructed CINCLANT to deploy immediately the 5th and 6th BCTs of the 82d Airborne Division to the Dominican Republic. At 1458 they directed CSA to assign to CINCLANT the helicopters of one air mobile company plus the necessary command elements, air crews, and field maintenance personnel for deployment to the Dominican Republic upon the request of CTF 120. At 1800 the JCS instructed

CINCLANT to assign the 1st Battalion, 8th Marines, currently on air alert at [illegible], to those forces committed to operations in the Dominican Republic, but not to deploy the battalion until specifically directed. At 0053 JCS directed CINCLANT to deploy the 7th, 8th, and 9th BCTs of the 82d Airborne Division and the 1st Battalion, 8th Marines (using available organic airlift for the Marines) to the Dominican Republic.

(Z-Gp 3) Msgs, JCS-1250 to CINCLANT, 021758Z May 65; 1252 to CINCLANT, 021826Z May 65; 1258 to CINCLANT, 022259Z May 65; and 1262 to CINCLANT, 030153Z May 65. (Z-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1255 to CSA, et al., 021958Z May 65.

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3 May 65

Military activity was confined to "Operation Blue Chip," the US effort to establish a line of communication (LOC) between the Marine units in the western sector of Santo Domingo and the airborne elements along the Ozama River in the east. The action proceeded without incident. US forces returned the fire and completed the deployment by 0111. The deployment cordoned off the Constitutionalist forces in downtown Santo Domingo, and a corridor was opened between the ISZ and the only air fields near the city. Later in the day, US Army and Marine units consolidated and widened the corridor, and at 1545 General Palmer notified CJTF 122 that the first military convoy had passed through safely.

The US continued its troop buildup in Santo Domingo. During the day two ECT's of the 82d Airborne Division and one Marine BLT, ordered on the previous day, arrived in the Dominican Republic.

(U) Msg, Santo Domingo 1293 to State, 030530Z May 65, JCS IN 41464. (TS-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1301 to CJTF 122, 031151Z May 65, JCS IN 41656. (Z-Gp 3) JCS 1266 to AIG 936, et al., 031236Z May 65. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 1309 to State, 031855Z May 65, JCS IN 42649. (TS-Gp 1) Msg, Santo Domingo 1315 to CJTF 122, 032045Z May 65, JCS IN 41982.

The week's fighting had brought severe hardship to the civilian population of the city. The US Embassy reported that the people of Santo Domingo were hungry, especially in the Constitutionalist zone, because of the scarcity of food coming in from the countryside. The Embassy distributed beans, milk, and flour throughout the day at various fixed points outside the Constitutionalist zone, while US military forces distributed 14,000 lbs of beans and condensed milk along the newly opened corridor. Just after midnight, the JCS directed CINCLANT to off-load the ALCOA RANGER, which was carrying PL 480 food for relief purposes, as soon as adequate docking arrangements at Haina were completed.

In further relief of the suffering population, the US Army opened a 100-bed hospital east of the OZAMA River and the Marines established a 50-bed hospital in the ISZ to relieve the crowded conditions in the two hospitals in the Constitutionalist zone.

(C) Msg, Santo Domingo 1327 to State, 040335Z May 65, JCS IN 42630. (C) Msg, Santo Domingo 1323 to State, 040150Z May 65, JCS IN 42497. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1325 to State, 040250Z May 65, JCS IN 42722. (U) Msg, JCS 1264 to CINCLANT, 030503Z May 65.

In Santo Domingo a more hopeful note was sounded by a new effort to establish an effective interim government and by the reported left-wing desertion of the Constitutionalist movement. General Imbert approached Ambassador Martin and offered to form a government independent of the extremes of left and right as represented by the Constitutionalists and the Loyalist junta. Martin warned Imbert that the US would not support a military dictatorship, and the two men agreed to seek a five-man group consisting of Imbert, Colonel Benoit of the junta, and three distinguished but non-political civilians. [redacted]

(U) John Bartlow Martin, "Inside the Drama and Chaos of the Dominican Upheaval," Life, LVIII, 21 (28 May 65), 70. [redacted] (C-Gp 1) [redacted]

Concurrently, two less favorable events occurred. After a 10-hour conversation, Ambassador Martin failed to convince Juan Bosch that American intervention had been necessary to prevent a Castroite or Communist take-over or to persuade him to make a public statement to that effect. In the UN Security Council, the Soviet Union alleged that US intervention in the Dominican Republic constituted a violation of international peace and the UN Charter.

(C-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1330 to State, 040430Z May 65, JCS IN 42729. (U) NY Times, 4 May 65, 14.

The US worked for a solution through the offices of the OAS. It proposed to the 10th Meeting of Foreign Ministers (MFM), which had convened in response to the Council request of 30 April, the creation of an inter-American peace force to help restore order in the Dominican Republic. The US introduced a resolution calling on the American States to make military contingents available to assist the five-member commission in reestablishing peace and normal relations in the Dominican Republic. In a move to facilitate the creation of such a force and in response to inquiries from US Latin Embassies, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA) requested JCS recommendations on the following: 1) size, type, and equipment of forces to be supplied; 2) command structure under which they should operate; 3) source of logistic support; and 4) total forces required. The JCS, in turn, sought CINCLANT and CINCSO's comments.

(S) Memo, ASD/ISA to CJCS, 3 May 65, encl to (S-Gp 4) JCS 2338/12, 4 May 65. (S-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1336 to CINCLANT and USCINCSO, 040111Z May 65. (U) NY Times, 4 May 65, 1.

In Washington President Johnson again defended US policy in the Dominican Republic in an unexpected appearance before a labor conference. He said: "We don't propose to sit here in our rocking chair with our hands folded and let the Communists set up any government in the Western Hemisphere." President Johnson stated that he had acted to preserve peace and "save those people from conquest." He pledged that US forces would be withdrawn from the Dominican Republic when the OAS had reestablished peace and security there.

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(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1323 to State, 040150Z May 65, JCS IN 42497. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1304 to State, 031430Z May 65, JCS IN 42753. (S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 1313 to CINCLANT, 032123Z May 65. (S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1316 to State, 032023Z May 65, JCS IN 42666. (S-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1337 to CSA and CINCLANT, 040131Z May 65. (U) NY Times, 4 May 65, 1.

4 May 65 US military activity was limited to an extension of the ISZ in order to protect the embassies. The State Department authorized the extension at the request of the OAS Commission, and the JCS directed its execution. US Marines carried out the operation, moving the ISZ boundary two blocks eastward without incident.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1351 to State, 031830Z May 65, JCS IN 43838. (S) Msg, State 797 to Santo Domingo, 042118Z May 65, JCS IN 44324. (S-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1400 to CINCLANT, et al., 042149Z May 65. (U) 6th MEU Command Diary, 9 Jul 65

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(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1358 to State, 050120Z May 65, JCS IN 44450.

At the same time that it was restricting its military and psychological warfare activities, the US was expanding its relief work in the Dominican Republic. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Anthony Solomon, the State Department relief administrator, reported that he had developed a food relief program that would bring 60 tons of rice daily from the Banco Agricola's stock in the north of the island, unload the PL 480 food from ALCOA RANGER, airlift 90 tons of food daily by US military aircraft "for a few days" until the flow of rice from the north was sufficient, and increase the volume of food distributed by US troops along the corridor in the Constitutionalist area. Solomon reported that by the end of the day three additional centers of bulk food distribution would be functioning outside the Constitutionalist area, manned by businessmen and clergymen. Although certain areas outside Santo Domingo might require food distribution during the next few days, Solomon expected adequate food supplies to be available in most of the country as soon as movement on the roads became easier. Then the problem would be the lack of money to buy food since the economy was at a standstill and wages had not been paid for 10 days. Solomon suggested that the public sector, including government, business, and the Sugar Corporation, meet the next pay day.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1341 to State, 041215Z May 65, JCS IN 43830.

In reply, the State Department notified Ambassador Bennett and Secretary Solomon that $3 million in additional disaster relief funds had been approved for the following purposes: 1) to organize emergency work programs under municipal and provincial governmental direction or through existing local development associations; 2) to make arrangements for the public sector, including government, business, and the Sugar Corporation, to meet the next pay day; 3) to administer emergency food and medical relief, repair and reconstruct essential public utilities, and to establish emergency public work programs.

(e-Gp 1) Msg, State 798 to Santo Domingo, 4 May 65, JCS IN 44581.

The Constitutionalists seized the political initiative when the members of the 1963 National Congress in a rump session elected Francisco Caamano president of the provisional government. Later in the day, the Constitutionalist "Radio Constitution" carried a recorded speech by Bosch, supporting the choice of Caamano, characterizing him as a leader who could "act against the tanks and machines to defend the people's rights."

[redacted] (e-Gp 1)

In a cable to the State Department, Ambassador Bennett stated that "with the rebel forces contained," the priorities for US action were now: a functioning Dominican government and the "restoration of normalcy" in Santo Domingo. With regard to these priorities, Bennett suggested that the US recognize the Loyalist junta as the de facto successor to the Reid Government and that restrictions on the freedom of movement of Dominican civilians be removed.

Bennett proposed the following three point program to rally popular support behind the junta: 1) urge the Loyalists to add two civilians to their junta and discuss possible candidates with them; 2) if the junta was agreeable, offer US good offices in helping to persuade the two chosen to join the government; and 3) urge the junta to appoint a cabinet of non-partisan technicians and offer to work with the junta in the selection process. Bennett cautioned, however, that some of the Loyalist military had been trying in the past week to consolidate their positions, while under the protection of the US military presence. To permit these right-wing military leaders to consolidate their power, Bennett believed, would be a great disservice to the Dominicans and a damaging blow to the US public image in the country. He suggested, therefore, that once Constitutionalist resistance had ended, Wessin should be encouraged to retire and that Rivera Cuesta and de los Santos be

[redacted]

encouraged to remain as chiefs of the Army and the Air Force. Bennett also suggested that Rivera Caminero, Navy Chief of Staff, would make the best Secretary of State for Armed Forces.

Commenting on the potentially risky situation in the provinces, Bennett pointed out the need for rapid action to ensure effective and friendly local governments. He urged the strengthening of the local governments through the appropriate channeling of relief supplies and the organization of emergency work programs. He also suggested the payment of back wages to a large number of persons in the provinces employed in public works projects who had not been paid for as long as ten weeks.

(Unknown) Msg, Santo Domingo 1340 to State, 041134Z May 65, JCS IN 43818. (~~S~~-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 1337 to State, 040715Z May 65, JCS IN 42738.

Bennett also believed that "fast action essential to counter" the political initiative shown by the Constitutionalists in appointing Caamano as their president. He therefore was suggesting to the Loyalists that they form a more broadly-based junta including civilians. Specifically he wanted General Imbert to head the junta; Colonel Benoit to be the military representative, and the following civilians be included: Alfonso Morano a respected non-Communist leftist, Antonio Guzman, formerly Bosch's Secretary of Agriculture, and Anselmo Brache, a prominent member of Balaguer's movement who enjoyed Imbert's confidence.

The Secretary of State approved Ambassador Bennett's course of action and directed the Ambassador to seek OAS Commission approval since the Department did not consider either side in the Dominican dispute as then constituted capable of running the country. The Dominicans needed a broadly based group "to re-establish and maintain law and order and getting normal government functions underway." The Secretary agreed with all the names that Bennett had suggested for the junta, but recommended against Imbert as the leader, preferring that all members have equal rank.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1348 to State, 041730Z May 65, JCS IN 43823. (U) NY Times, 5 May 65, 1. (~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, State 796 to Santo Domingo, 4 May 65, JCS IN 44579.

The OAS continued its efforts to end the crisis. In Santo Domingo its Commission completed a report for the Meeting of Consultation that included, at the urging of the US, a recommendation for a combined inter-American military force under the OAS. The Commission also presented Ambassador Bennett with a formula for a new cease-fire agreement and asked for US cooperation in making it an "effective instrument" and a US reaffirmation of the 1 May OAS Resolution. The Commission's proposed cease-fire, called the "Act of Santo Domingo," would be signed only by the Benoit and Caamano forces. Further, the Commission presented Bennett with a memorandum requesting "whether the military forces of the United States in the Dominican Republic could be given precise instructions to cooperate in the execution of that which has been agreed."

Bennett accepted the Commission's formula, saying that he would have to refer it to Washington. Bennett told the Secretary of State that a new cease-fire was not necessary, but that the US could not refuse the Commission's request. He recommended that he be authorized to give the Commission a note reiterating US cooperation with the 30 April cease-fire and pledging continued full cooperation with the work of the Commission. General Palmer concurred in Bennett's recommendation.

(C) Msg, State 788 to Santo Domingo, 040250Z May 65, JCS IN 44293. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1350 to State, 041313Z May 65, JCS IN 43866, and 1359, 050255Z May 65, JCS IN 44783.

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5 May 65 Military activity was limited to an expansion of the LOC in order to improve the security of the corridor. At 0600 elements of the 82d Airborne Division began the operation, and by 0800 the corridor had been enlarged. As usual, Constitutionalist snipers were active, with heavy firing reported.

At 0500 General Palmer assumed command of Land Forces Dominican Republic CTF 120, reporting directly to CINCLANT. The revised command structure effective at that time was as follows:

CINCLANT - Adm Moorer, USN

a. CJTF 122 - VAdm Masterson, USN.

(1) CTF 121, Commander Air Force Component - MGen McNickle, USAF

(2) CTF 124, Command Naval Component - VAdm McCain, USN

b. CTF 120, Commander Land Forces DOMREP - LtGen Palmer, USA

(1) 4th MEB - BGen Bouker, USMC

(2) 82d Abn Div - MGen York, USA

(~~TS~~-Gp 3) JTF 122 Hist, pp. III-I-5 and III-III-I-14. (TS) NMCC Op Sum 105-65, 6 May 65. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1444 to AIG 936, et al., 051238Z May 65. (C-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to CINCARLANT, et al., 061932Z May 65, JCS IN 47984.

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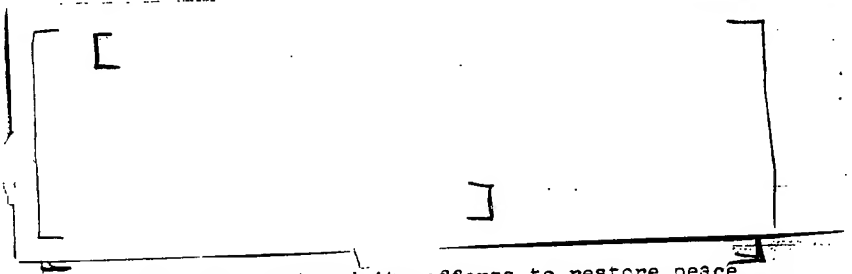

The OAS continued its efforts to restore peace to the Dominican Republic. It got the Constitutionalist and Loyalist leaders to sign the "Act of Santo Domingo," ratifying the ceasefire of 30 April and establishing a zone of security in Santo Domingo. The Agreement also guaranteed the inviolability of the embassies and missions in the city and the evacuation of persons in asylum there. The parties to the act also promised to assist the International Red Cross and the OAS in the distribution of food, medicine, and medical supplies in Santo Domingo and throughout the country. The Act referred to the Caamano Group as the "Constitutionalist Government," giving them, Ambassador Bennett claimed an "unwarranted status" and constituting a "substantive modification" to the original OAS proposal.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1386 to State, 060245Z May 65, JCS IN 46672. (S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1360 to State, 050250Z May 65, JCS IN 44826. (U) NY Times, 6 May 65, 1, 14.

(Late in the evening, four members of the OAS Commission departed for Washington to give the OAS Meeting of Consultation a first hand report. One member of the Commission, Ambassador Morrice of Panama, and OAS Secretary General Mora remained in Santo Domingo.)

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1396 to State, 060918Z May 65, JCS IN 46976.

The OAS also met in Washington where the US representative Ellsworth Bunker sought a compromise on the US-sponsored resolution for an inter-American peace force. Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and the US agreed to a revised resolution to be jointly presented to the OAS MFM. The revised resolution requested member governments to make contingents of their military, naval, air, or police forces available to the OAS to form an Inter-American Armed Force to restore order in the Dominican Republic.

(U) Msg, State Circ 2140, 5 May 65, JCS IN 46586. (U) NY Times, 7 May 65, 1.

US unilateral political moves continued in Santo Domingo where Ambassador Bennett tried to form a government of national reconciliation composed of both military and civilian leaders representing a broad political spectrum. He was not successful. Representatives of Bosch's PRD and Balaguer's PR refused to serve. Even the pro-US Secretary General of the PRD, Antonio Martinez Francisco, was unwilling to participate in a junta that would include Imbert or to volunteer his own services without the approval of his party. Approval, according to Martinez, would probably be contingent upon the right of Bosch to run for office in the next election.

Rebuffed by the politicians, Bennett tried to form a non-political junta including three civilian "technicians." He lined up a five-man group consisting of Imbert, Benoit, Dr. Hector Goico, Supreme Court President Julio Cuello, and Luis Julian Perez. The three civilians, however, refused to serve until they had discussed the proposition with Caamano and the OAS.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1385 to State, 060145Z May 65, JCS IN 46489.

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6 May 65

With the exception of one incident involving US and Constitutionalist forces, the cease-fire continued effective. Three US Marines were killed when a two-vehicle convoy with seven Marines, proceeding eastward along the LOC, took a wrong turn into Constitutionalist-held territory and was fired upon. In addition to the three fatalities, two Marines were wounded and two were captured.

(U) Msg, Santo Domingo 1403 to State, 061705Z May 65, JCS IN 47483. (S-Gp 3) Msg, CTF 120 to CINCLANT, 070153Z May 65, JCS IN 48569.

In Washington the OAS MFM voted to establish an Inter-American Armed Force (IAF) to cooperate in restoring and maintaining normal conditions in the Dominican Republic and in establishing there an atmosphere "conducive to the functioning of democratic institutions." Member states would be asked to contribute land, sea, air, or police contingents to the IAF. The commanders of these contingents were to work out among themselves and with an OAS Committee arrangements for an OAS Unified Command.

The US did not insist on the selection of COMDOMREP as Commander, IAF, and was willing to accept the appointment of a Latin American as commander, with a deputy from the US. US forces in the Dominican Republic would become part of the IAF when it was formed; any US forces not needed for the IAF would be withdrawn. The US was prepared to provide both transportation and logistic support for the IAF, though

Restrict maximum contributions by Latin American countries.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, State Circ 2157, 6 May 65, JCS IN 48554. (U) Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1353 (31 May 65), 862-863.

Looking ahead to eventual withdrawal of US forces, the JCS asked CINCLANT: (1) assuming the cease-fire continued and the security mission remained essentially as at present, what military forces should remain in the Dominican Republic for the foreseeable future?; (2) if these forces were smaller than those now deployed, when could withdrawals begin, and how and in what order should they take place?; and (3) if the Loyalists did establish an effective government in the near future, what US forces should remain in the Republic? The JCS added that if an OAS force were established, Latin American units might supplant some of the US units.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1547 to CINCLANT, C61649Z May 65. For the reply, see below, under 8 May (CINCLANT msg 082322Z).

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7 May 65 The US effort (begun on 5 May) to construct a broad-based Dominican government finally succeeded when the Loyalist junta resigned in favor of a Council of National Reconstruction (GNR), a five-man group headed by General Antonio Imbert Barreras. The civilians in the group were not those originally suggested by Bennett, but the Ambassador considered them a "well-balanced group which can command national support." In addition to Imbert the group included: Julio Postigo, a personal friend of Bosch; the "highly respected" governor of Puerto Plata, Carlos Grisolia Polonywn; and Alejandro Zeller Iocco, a young engineer and non-partisan former Minister of Water Resources. Colonel Benoit, the one holdover from the junta, completed the group.

Ambassador Bennett recommended that the US recognize the new government "without delay." Secretary Rusk replied, however, that the US welcomed the formation of the GNR, but regarded it as only an interim group that would be expected to assist in the establishment of a permanent, duly elected government with broad popular support. Hence, although the US would give the GNR "all appropriate help" in holding the country together, it would not extend formal recognition. Later in the day the Secretary added that Bennett should urge the GNR not to attack the Constitutionalist positions and to protest to the OAS Constitutionalist attacks on the National Palace. The Secretary authorized US military action "if immediately necessary to save the Palace," but US action should not be taken as "pretext to support Imbert by military demonstration against rebels."

(C-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo [illegible] State 071838Z May 65, JCS IN 49513. (C-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, State 872 to Santo Domingo, 7 May 65, JCS IN 50053. (S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, State 888 to Santo Domingo, 7 May 65, JCS IN 50309.

Preparing for the activation of the IAF, the State Department ordered Ambassador Bennett to coordinate with commanders of any Latin American contingents assigned and, in collaboration with General Palmer, to submit recommendations for the structure and functions of the unified command. At the same time the JCS directed CINCLANT and USCINCSO to prepare to transport by air and sea the Latin American contingents.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, State 856 to Santo Domingo and CJTF 122, 070110Z May 65, JCS IN 48144. For reply, see under 9 May (Santo Domingo 1526, 091826Z). (C-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 1640 to CINCLANT and USCINCSO, 071606Z May 65.

On this day, the US completed all planned major force deployments to the Dominican Republic. The designation and size of the Committed forces were as follows:

Ground Forces

US Army

Hq USCOMREP	160
Special Forces Co (Reinf)	332
82d Abn Div (9 Bn)	12,301
Air Mobile Co.	200
1st Psy Bn & 1st Psy War Co	116
Miscellaneous	156
Total US Army	13,265

USMC

4th MEB - Ashore	4,145
Afloat	3,304
Total USMC	7,449

Air Forces

USAF

507th TAC Cont Gp & Sptg Units	1,086
GRAND TOTAL	21,800

US Naval Forces

Combatant & Supporting Ships	35

Supporting Air Forces in Puerto Rico

USMC

VMFA-323	12-F-4B
VMF (AW451)	15-F-8D
Det, VMCJ-2	2RF-8A

USAF

353 TFS	18 F-100
363 TRW Element	6 RF-100
	3 RB-66
331 FIS	12 F-104

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(25) NMCC OPSUM, 107-65, 8 May 65, 2-3.

At 1200 General Bruce Palmer became Commander, US Forces in Dominican Republic (USCOMDOMREP), with command over all Army, Air Force, and Naval units, MAAG, and JACCC physically located in the Dominican Republic. Forces designated for POWER PACK (the nickname for the US operations), but not physically on the island, remained under the appropriate component commanders of CINCLANT. JTF 120 and JTF 122 were dissolved. CTF 121 and CTF 124 remained under CINCAFLANT and CINCLANTFLT, respectively, to support USCOMDOMREP, who was authorized direct liaison with them.

(Z-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to CINCARLANT, et al., 070010Z May 65, JCS IN 48269.

Communist involvement in the Dominican crisis was further documented [redacted] "a modest number of hard-core Communist leaders in Santo Domingo managed by superior training and tactics to win for themselves a position of considerable influence in the revolt within the first few days." Unclassified annexes summarized Cuba's involvement in Dominican revolutionary activities and listed the names of 83 Communists and other extreme leftists who were "active participants" in the Dominican revolt.

[redacted] (Z-Gp 1) [redacted] CJCS files.

The JCS was also concerned with Communist involvement in the Dominican crisis, specifically in the amount of Communist propaganda being beamed to the island from Cuba. [redacted]

[redacted] (TS-SENSITIVE) [redacted]

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8 May 65 The military situation remained quiet with few violations of the cease-fire reported. In the most serious incident, five men with automatic weapons infiltrated the US Navy unloading facilities in Haina, wounding a Marine who later died.

CINCLANT reported to the JCS that arms were apparently being landed secretly in the Dominican Republic. In reply, the JCS noted that Dominican forces were responsible for controlling such activity, but might not be adequate to the task. They authorized CINCLANT, subject to coordination with Ambassador Bennett, to provide such assistance as he deemed necessary to control activities of this type.

(S) Santo Domingo 1487 to State, 082325Z May 65, JCS IN 51601. (S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 1733 to CINCLANT, 081803Z May 65.

The composition of the IAF was being studied in Washington. In response to a request by the Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA) for their views, the JCS stated that they favored employment of OAS forces in the Dominican Republic as a demonstration of hemispheric solidarity. They recommended that member countries be encouraged to supply self-contained company-size units, except for Argentina and Brazil, from whom battalions were desired. The forces contributed should, as far as possible, be logistically self-sufficient, but should be able to request, receive, and distribute bulk supplies from US sources. Pending establishment of the command structure, the Latin American contingents should be placed under operational control of CINCLANT. The JCS recommended that USCOMDOMREP be designated commander of the IAF, but they were prepared to accept a Latin American commander with a US deputy.

(S-Gp 3) JCSM-344-65 to SecDef, "OAS Forces for the Dominican Republic," 8 May 65, derived from (S-Gp 3) JCS 2338/12-1, same subj, 6 May 65, JMF 9128.4 (3 May 65).

In response to the JCS request of 6 May, CINCLANT transmitted USCOMDOMREP's views that, once an effective, stable government was in operation, three or four of the 12 US battalions in the Dominican Republic could possibly be released. CINCLANT foresaw an extended requirement for approximately four or five battalions, plus other units for engineering reconstruction, civil affairs, and psychological warfare. When withdrawals began, Marine units should be withdrawn first, in order to improve over-all readiness in the Caribbean. Marines should be withdrawn almost entirely by sea; Army forces, by a combination of ship and air transportation. Whether these recommendations could be

modified if the GNR became an effective governing body depended on future developments. CINCLANT cited as examples of factors affecting his future needs: the undetermined Communist strength in the new Dominican government, and the effectiveness of OAS forces on the scene.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 082322Z May 65, JCS IN 51662.

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9 May 65 Cease-fire violations increased. A force of 50 Constitutionalists attacked the headquarters of the GNR's transportation battalion in Santo Domingo, but were successfully repulsed. At 1715 two shells exploded near USCOMDOMREP's headquarters. Sniper fire continued at about the same level as previous days.

(S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1543 to State, 092305Z May 65, JCS IN 52741. (S-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP/CTF 120 to CINCLANT, 100616Z May 65, JCS IN 53065.

Replying to the State Department request of 7 May, Ambassador Bennett and General Palmer suggested the following policy and command structures for the IAF: 1) policy guidance for the IAF would be provided by the MFM, which in turn might receive military advice from the Inter-American Defense Board; 2) the OAS Commission, reconstructed to include eminent Latin Americans, perhaps including former heads of State, would operate as the executive and policy arm of the MFM in the Dominican Republic; 3) this OAS Commission should include an Office of the Military Advisor headed by a senior Latin American officer, supported by a multinational staff (this officer should be a Latin American, just as the IAF commander should be a US officer); 4) the combined staff should be organized along US military lines and as a minimum the Secretary, C4 (logistics), and C6 (communications) should be US officers; 5) since operations would primarily be on the ground, the IAF commander should wear a second hat as land forces commander with separate subordinate sea and air commanders; 6) brigade commander slots could be allocated to officers of the participating nations to assuage the question of national prestige; however, during active operations US battalions should be brigaded together and multinational battalions should not be considered as effective forces for more than guard duty. Bennett and Palmer added that the US should remain prepared to commit additional forces rapidly should the IAF prove to be militarily incapable. If the OAS Commission refused to authorize IAF action, the US should decide whether unilateral action was required by US forces not allocated to the IAF.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1526 to State and OSD, 091826Z May 65, JCS IN 52615.

General Palmer established a "rapid reaction force" consisting of units from the 82d Airborne Division and the 4th MEB. This alert force, consisting of platoon, company, and battalion size units, would respond to requests by Ambassador Bennett for assistance to local government forces in areas outside Santo Domingo.

(C) Msg, USCOMDOMREP/CTF 120 to CINCLANT, 092054Z May 65, JCS IN 52856.

Fearing the possible effects of the inflammatory Constitutionalist broadcasts on Radio Santo Domingo, [redacted] Secretary Rusk replied that Washington echoed their concern and that denying the station to the Constitutionalists as soon as possible was "highest priority item." He asked for details on the location of the station and its towers and whether they could be destroyed or captured. He noted that it would be best to involve the OAS Commission in the matter and concluded that the US would investigate the feasibility of the Commission's assuming control over all broadcast facilities in the Dominican Republic.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP/CJTF 120 to CINCLANT, 090340Z May 65, JCS IN 51923; (S-LIMDIS-Gp 3) Msg, State 919 to Santo Domingo and CJTF 120, 091840Z May 65, JCS IN 52531.

CINCLANT published US casualties figures for the Dominican operation. As of 240CZ, total US casualties were:

	KIA	WIA	MIA	DOW
Army	3	51	0	2
Navy	2	1	0	0
Marine Corps	6	24	0	0
Air Force	0	0	0	0
Total	11	76	0	2

(S-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to AIG 930, 100120Z May 65, JCS IN 52819. (The DOW figures are included in the WIA). [For further casualties figures see appendix.]

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10 May 65 Santo Domingo remained quiet, with sniper fire reported reduced from previous days. Some factories and businesses reopened in the city, but Constitutionalist barricades prevented workers from getting to their jobs in the northern industrial zone. Commercial air service

resumed to and from Santo Domingo. Ambassador Bennett reported that about 800 persons still awaited evacuation, but he was concentrating on the "free evacuation" of the few "hardship or other special cases." The majority of the 800 were being encouraged to use the commercial flights. The US had evacuated 4,437 (2,711 US) refugees by this date (see appendix).

Ambassador Bennett rejected a request from the Dominican Air Force Chief of Staff for US assistance in garrisoning Santiago Airfield against possible disturbances. This did not mean, however, that the US was not willing to take military action if required. Commenting on the mortar fire near General Palmer's headquarters on 9 May, Ambassador Bennett requested permission to move the northeastern boundary of the ISZ (north of Avenida Bolivar) one block eastward, i.e., to coincide with Calle Rosa Duarte. This move, approved by General Palmer and informally and privately by Secretary Mora, would also provide added protection for the US and French Embassies. The State Department referred the request to the OAS Committee (which was preparing to return to Santo Domingo) asking that the Committee obtain agreement from the Dominican factions. State also told USCOMDOMREP that it preferred not to take unilateral action unless the Committee delayed unreasonably. Meanwhile, the JCS directed CINCLANT to prepare plans for the capture of the Constitutionalist stronghold in Santo Domingo.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1577 to State, 102315Z May 65, JCS IN 53906. (S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1565 to State, 101715Z May 65, JCS IN 53360. (S) Msg, State to CJTF 120, 110240Z May 65, JCS IN 53938. (S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 1768 to CINCLANT, 101841Z May 65.

The President's Special Ambassador, John Martin, submitted a lengthy assessment of the Dominican situation as it entered a "politico-propaganda" phase, a struggle between the rival Constitutionalist and GNR "governments" for popular support. Martin admitted that it was "virtually impossible" to assess the Constitutionalist position.

Other well-informed sources, however, reported that the Constitutionalists were confident of victory. Whatever their expectations, the Constitutionalists held the propaganda initiative, principally through Radio Santo Domingo, and "the importance of this cannot be overstated," Martin added. They had organized large demonstrations in the center of the city and were successfully linking "constitutionality" with jobs and food in the minds of the uniformed masses. "Rebels are working to consolidate political position as champion of masses against US military--San Isidro military-- upperclass and middle-class government. And unquestionably, they are ahead of GNR in this propaganda political war."

Martin admitted that it had been impossible to recruit a "truly broad-spectrum political group," but the five-member GNR did provide an entity to counter the Constitutionalist government and did divorce the US from the "odious San Isidro old general group." The GNR had a basic weakness, however, in it was open to Constitutionalist charges of being another "reactionary business-class civilian government with a military strong-man overlay." To counter the GNR's political vulnerability, Martin and Bennett were assisting in the deportation of some of the "old" generals, including General Wessin, (scheduled to leave on 11 May), who had become to the masses the symbol of military oppression.

The GNR's basic political problem remained, however. The revolt against Reid was "almost surely" an attempt by PRD leaders and others to reverse the coup against Bosch. Bosch's ideas of social and economic justice had germinated slowly and had later mobilized the "latent and legitimate revolutionary aspirations" of the Dominicans, particularly Dominican youth. The Constitutionalists had inherited these revolutionary aspirations. The GNR might meet this problem by instituting reforms and by divorcing itself from discredited politicians and generals.

Martin outlined several courses of action the US might follow, but recommended "for the short run" that the US give all-out support short of recognition to the GNR, waiting for new figures free of Communist domination but capable of mobilizing the "peoples aspirations" to emerge on the political landscape. In the interim period, the US should try to add other non-Communist elements to the GNR (should Caamano surrender, Martin recommended that the US recognize the GNR quickly, after getting from it any desired commitments.)

Martin admitted that although the IAF cloak helped the US public image greatly, the US should remove its troops within the next six months or less. Further, the US should avoid a full-scale military occupation, even under OAS auspices, "unless nothing else can prevent Communist takeover." Martin concluded that a US political presence would be required in the Dominican Republic long after its military forces departed. "Landing our troops prevented country from disintegrating totally. But troops can build nothing politically and process of disintegration has gone so far that this country cannot alone reorganize its affairs for a long time without vigorous assistance."

(✓) Msg, Santo Domingo 1558 to State, 100520Z May 65, JCS IN 52922.

In reply, the State Department directed the US Embassy to adopt a modified version of Martin's suggestion: explore the possibility of establishing a coalition regime which would include Caamano and perhaps one other non-Communist member of his group acceptable to Imbert and his group. The Department

hoped thereby to split Caamano and the Azul partisans from the extremists, a further step toward establishing a provisional government that might gradually consolidate its control over the entire country, with broad popular support. Even if Caamano could not be won over, US officials should work for a provisional coalition government that could "return the country to normalcy and eventually, under OAS supervision, guide country to a non-communist constitutional government."

(S-Gp 1) Msg, State 949 to Santo Domingo, 10 May 65, JCS IN 54405.

The GNR, as well as the US, continued to face the problem of Constitutionalist propaganda broadcasts on Radio Santo Domingo. Bennett reported that GNR Special Forces were preparing to sabotage the station's transmitters, "and we propose to agree." Secretary Rusk ruled that these operations, which would be in violation of the cease-fire, were neither to be prevented nor assisted. [redacted] (1)(5)

General Palmer and Ambassador Bennett recommended that all radio facilities in the country be placed under OAS control. They were prepared to place US facilities under such control; they believed they could persuade the GNR to do so if Caamano would also agree.

(~~TS~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1567 to State, 1C1733Z May 65, JCS IN 53366. (~~TS~~-LIMDIS-Gp 1) Msg, State 948 to Santo Domingo, 10 May 65, JCS IN 54020. (~~TS~~) DOMREP Task Force Evaluations, "Status of Jamming Operations (to 6:00 EDT, 10 May 65)" and "Rebel Propaganda Jamming Operations - 10 May 65," dtd 11 May 65. No other identification. (~~TS~~-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 110420Z May 65, JCS IN 54312. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1586 to State, 110215Z May 65, JCS IN 53942.

On the diplomatic front the OAS MFM voted to continue its five-man committee to work out command arrangements for the IAF with commanders of assigned contingents. At the same time, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA) directed USCOMDOMREP and CINCLANT to submit proposals regarding the unified command organization, and the JCS assigned the unclassified nickname PRESS AHEAD to operations of Latin American contingents of the IAF.

(~~TS~~-EYES ONLY-Gp 1) Msg, OSD (ISA) 1756 to USCOMDOMREP and CINCLANT, 101658Z May 65. (S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 1752 to CINCLANT and USCINCSO, 101618Z May 65. (U) Dept of State Bulletin LII, 1353 (31 May 65), 866.

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11 May 65

Cease-fire violations increased slightly over those of the previous day although the US Embassy considered that the increase probably reflected more accurate reporting rather than a rise in violations. In one incident, a group of 20 Constitutionalists, equipped with bazookas as well as small arms, attacked the eastern perimeter of the ISZ, but were repulsed.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1606 to State, 112330Z May 65, JCS IN 55589. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1644 to State, 122315Z May 65, JCS IN 57633.

The OAS continued its efforts to settle the crisis. Ambassador Martin and the Papal Nuncio met with Caamano and urged him to negotiate with the GNR. Caamano agreed to consult his associates and meet again with the Ambassador and the Nuncio later in the day. He cancelled the meeting, however, when he received a report that a group of GNR troops had been allowed to enter the Constitutionalist zone through US lines and, allegedly in cooperation with US forces, had shot up a restaurant. The Constitutionalists also complained that US troops east of the Ozama River were shooting unarmed civilians on the docks. The latter allegation was at once relayed to General Palmer, who began an investigation and reaffirmed his standing orders to US troops not to fire unless fired upon. Caamano finally informed the Papal Nuncio that he would talk with the OAS Commission the next day.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1602 to State, 111930Z May 65, JCS IN 55144. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1612 to State, 120139Z May 65, JCS IN 55645.

Reporting on the incident that led to cancellation of the Caamano Meeting, the Embassy admitted that there "apparently" was some shooting at a restaurant near Constitutionalist headquarters when the GNR relieved its National Palace guard. The Embassy explained that a force of 300 GNR soldiers, accompanied by an English-speaking guide, talked their way through a US checkpoint to relive the guard at the Palace, which was held by the GNR although located in the Constitutionalist zone. The relieved troops were returning by the same route when the shooting occurred.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1626 to State, 121140Z May 65, JCS IN 56508.

The Embassy also reiterated their 10 May recommendation that US forces move the boundary of the ISZ one block eastward. The State Department modified their previous decision and now agreed that the OAS Committee should first move the boundary and then announce it to the two Dominican parties as an accomplished fact. With Departmental approval, therefore,

Ambassador Bennett suggested the move to members of the OAS Committee, and in a letter to Secretary General Mora, the French Ambassador in Washington supported the enlargement of the ISZ.

(Z) Msg, Santo Domingo 1597 to State, 111715Z May 65, JCS IN 55040. (S) Msg, State 958 to Santo Domingo, 112003Z May 65. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1608 to State, 112355Z, JCS IN 55704.

[redacted]

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 110450Z May 65, JCS IN 54342. (S-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 111258Z May 65, JCS IN 54629.

USCOMDOMREP also requested additional Military Police, Quartermaster, Finance troops, and maintenance and support units of the 82d Airborne Division deleted from the initial deployment plans.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, HQ USCOMDOMREP to CINCARLANT, et al., 110406Z May 65, JCS IN 55148. (S-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCARLANT, et al., 110403Z May 65, JCS IN 56898.

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12 May 65 The volume of sniper fire was considerably reduced with only two cease-fire violations reported. [ ] (1)(5)

Constitutionalist spokesman, in discussions with OAS representatives, asked for a corridor across the LOC to transport their military forces. When this suggestion was transmitted to Ambassador Bennett and General Palmer, both demurred, pointing out that GNR forces were not permitted to use the LOC.

Meanwhile the OAS Committee agreed to the extension of the northeastern boundary of the ISZ (between Avenida Bolivar and Avenida Francia) to Calle Rosa Durate. Caamano, advised of this decision, raised no objection. The 4th MEB, which was guarding this part of the boundary, made the move between 1600 and 1630.

US forces in the Dominican Republic were strengthened as the additional Military Police, Quartermaster, and Finance units, and remaining elements of the 82d Airborne Division, requested by USCOMDOMREP on 11 May, began landing in Santo Domingo.

(~~S~~-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1662 to State, 130639Z May 65, JCS IN 57862. (~~G~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1639 to State, 122045Z May 65, JCS IN 57010. (~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1644 to State, 122315Z May 65, JCS IN 57633. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP/CTF 120 to CINCLANT, 130650Z May 65, JCS IN 58107. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to AIG 930, 130210Z May 65, JCS IN 57616. [(~~TS~~) [(4)

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After considering the recommendations of USCOMDOMREP and CINCLANT, the State and Defense Departments issued a joint policy directive on the IAF. The Departments wanted the IAF established by the commanders of the various national units in the Dominican Republic. At least three countries (including Brazil) should sign the original agreement. The agreement should prescribe the structure and command arrangements of the force and designate the commander and deputy, one of whom should be a US officer. State and Defense did not consider it desirable for the US to appoint a provisional IAF commander unilaterally. The staff would consist of representatives of each nation contributing forces. One member of the staff

should as a full-time liaison officer with the OAS Committee. The commander would have operational control over all elements of the IAF and would be authorized to issue orders to all components; otherwise, command would remain vested in each national commander. Provision should be made in the agreement for consultation between the IAF and the OAS Committee.

If possible, command and logistics arrangements for the Latin American contingent should be worked out in advance, but the important thing was that they should arrive as soon as possible. Until all Latin American units had arrived, the US Ambassador, in consultation with commanders of arriving contingents and with the OAS Committee, should work out coordinating arrangements with USCOMDOMREP. The Ambassador and USCOMDOMREP were directed to prepare a draft document along these lines and submit it to Washington.

(S) Msg, State Circ 2211 to Santo Domingo, 12 May 65, JCS IN 58114.

The US was also preparing to support, in part, the Latin American contingents in the Dominican Republic. The JCS notified CINCLANT that some Latin American contingents to be deployed to the Dominican Republic would require additional equipment, and asked CINCLANT to recommend, after coordination with USCINCSO, methods of meeting these requirements.

(C-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 1956 to CINCLANT, 122046Z May 65.

Meanwhile, US hopes of restoring the Dominican economy suffered a setback when few workers reported for duty. The Embassy also reported food riots in the city and the illegal seizure of foodstuffs. In an effort to shore up the economy, the US agreed to continue furnishing AID funds to defray the costs of essential government services. Further, a joint State/Defense message requested US officials to submit a plan for resuming normal industrial operations in the northern part of the city.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1656 to State, 130339Z May 65, JCS IN 58002. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1644 to State, JCS IN 57633. (S-Gp 3) Msg, State 992 to Santo Domingo, 12 May 65, JCS IN 57912. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1626 to State, 121140Z May 65, JCS IN 56508. (S) Msg, State 979 to Santo Domingo, 121757Z May 65, JCS IN 56890.

Returning from consultations in Washington, the OAS Commission proceeded with its search for a solution to the crisis. (The Embassy reported that Special Ambassador Martin suspended his negotiation activities "to give full scope to OAS efforts.") Commission

members met with both factions. Imbert agreed to negotiate, but refused to accept the 1963 constitution as a precondition. Caamano at first agreed to talks with Imbert, but postponed them in favor of a pre-negotiation meeting of advisors and assistants. The Embassy believed this vacillation indicated, perhaps, Caamano's lack of independence. They saw signes that Caamano was wavering and that the other Constitutionalists feared to "let him out of their sight." The Embassy reported that it would try to split Caamano from the extremist elements in his group.

(S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1663 to State, 131130Z May 65, JCS IN 58229. (S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1625 to State, 120630Z May 65, JCS IN 56042. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1662 to State, 130639Z May 65, JCS IN 57862.

[Presumably, a high level US decision was made to seek an alternative approach to the Dominican crisis, based upon creation of a broadly-based civilian-dominated government of national concord excluding extremes of right and left and built around a figure acceptable to Juan Bosch.] For this purpose, an American agent conferred with Bosch and his close friend, Jaime Benitez, Chancellor of the University

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The American agent was identified as Irving Davidson, a Latin American Lobbyest. (S-EXDIS) Kennedy M. Crockett, Memo for the Record, "Contact with Dr. Joaquin Balaguer," 15 May 65, CJCS files.

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of Puerto Rico. Bosch agreed that active Communists and Trujillistas presented a problem for democratic government in the Dominican Republic and that active measures, including deportation or exile should be taken against them by a Constitutionalist government. Identification of such persons would be effected by mutual consultation [presumably between the US and Dominican Government].

Text is in (TS-EXDIS-Gp 1) Msg, State 1153 to Santo Domingo, 20 May 65, JCS IN 70684.

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13 May 65 At 0330 troops from the 82d Airborne Division cleared a building from which Constitutionalist snipers had been persistantly firing on US personnel guarding the Santo Domingo power plant and nearby areas. General Palmer reported the incident to CINCLANT, asserting that his troops had behaved correctly, and that it was in their terms of reference to go outside the perimeter of the LOC if necessary to eradicate enemy fire. He noted that the power plant had been in US hands since US troops arrived and under the terms of the cease-fire agreement was recognized as within the LOC boundary.

The Constitutionalists disputed Palmer's claim that the power plant was included in the "safety zone." The State Department informed Ambassador Bunker that the "highest authority" was greatly concerned by this contention and wanted the Ambassador to contact the OAS Committee immediately to emphasize that the US expected the cease-fire agreement be fully observed.

(C-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, et al., 132000Z May 65, JCS IN 60389. (C-Gp 3) Msg, State 1004 to Santo Domingo, 13 May 65, JCS IN 58671.

Cease-fire violations continued in Santo Domingo. In once incident, two US Army personnel strayed into Constitutionalist territory in a truck and were fatally wounded.

GNR forces, on the other hand, committed a serious violation when five P-51's of the Dominican Air Force launched a strafing and rocket attack on the main studio and transmitter of Radio Santo Domingo, near the western end of the LOC, at 1400. US forces, believing themselves under attack, brought down one plane by anti-aircraft fire. US officials had no foreknowledge of the attack, and Ambassador Bennett protested the violation to the OAS. The Chief of Staff of the GNR Air Force, General de los Santos, assured US officials that no more air operations would be conducted.

The claim by participating pilots that they inflicted "heavy damage" was viewed with skepticism by General Palmer, who inspected the target areas from an observation post on the LOC. However, Radio Santo Domingo went off the air at the time of the and had not come back on the air as of midnight.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1674 to State, 132145Z May 65, JCS IN 58866. (S) Msg, Gen. Palmer to CINCLANT, 140127Z May 65, JCS IN 59155. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1690 to State, 140530Z May 65, JCS IN 59611. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1697 to State, 141130Z May 65, JCS IN 59892.

The problem of Constitutionalist propaganda attacks, cease-fire violations, and conditions in the northern sector of Santo Domingo continued to trouble US planners. Concerned over the possible effects of the inflammatory and virulent attacks emanating from the Radio Santo Domingo, General Palmer suggested widening the LOC to seize the Constitutionalist-held facility. His suggestion was disapproved by Admiral McDonald, Acting Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. The JCS, however, directed CINCLANT to prepare a plan, including an appropriate cover story, for sabotaging the Constitutionalist medium-wave transmitters in the area north of the LOC, assuming that the OAS failed to neutralize Radio Santo Domingo by political means.

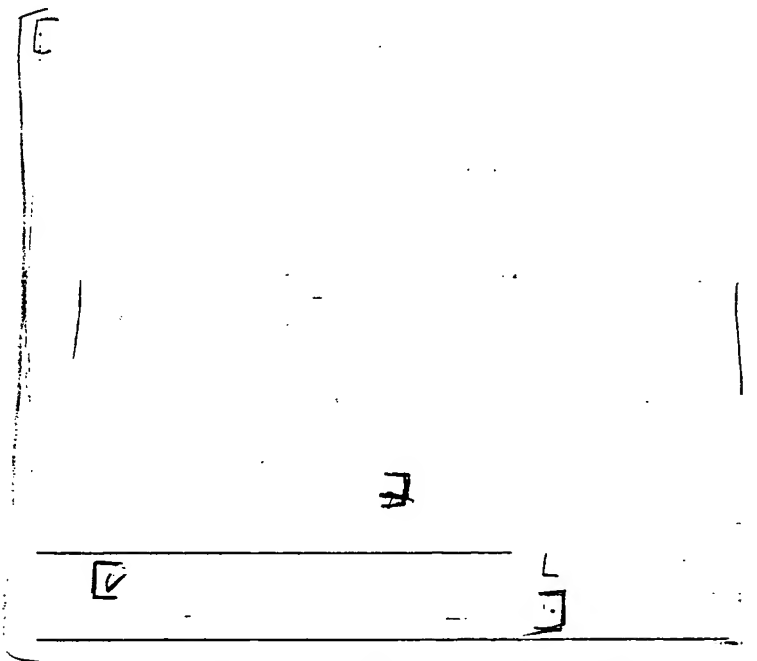
(S) Msgs, General Palmer to CINCLANT, 131759Z May 65, JCS IN 58569, and 140127Z May 65, JCS IN 59155. (TS-LIMDIS-Gp 1) Msg, JCS 2080 to CINCLANT, 132311Z May 65.

US officials on the scene continued to be occupied with Constitutionalist activities during the cease-fire. CINCLANT informed the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, that he agreed with Special Ambassador Martin that "tying our hand militarily likely to harm GNR while at the same time not only uplifting rebel morale but also providing them with opportunity to consolidate their strength." The net effect he deduced from this was "an everincreasing deterioration of the military situation with no ready political solution in sight." CINCLANT considered time working against US; "we are bound to suffer additional casualties and become involved in unpleasant incidents." Therefore, he recommended that the US: 1) wire the LOC and designate a specific cross-over point where local police could "recognize known Communists, rebels, criminals, etc", and 2) capture the Peynado bridge, remove the Constitutionalist roadblock south of Avenida Teradentes, and establish a linkup with the present LOC. CINCLANT believed that such actions could be justified because of continued violation of the cease-fire and the need to ensure free access to the city north of the Rio Isabella. He directed USCOMDOMREP to comment on the proposal and prepare plans for the operation.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to CJCS and USCOMDOMREP, 131622Z May 65, JCS IN 58568, CJCS files.

The three problems of radio propaganda, cease-fire violations, and resumptions of normal industrial operations in the northern part of Santo Domingo were all addressed in a joint State/Defense contingency plan prepared in Santo Domingo in answer to a request from Washington of 12 May. The planners presented in great detail the economic justifications for US action, noting that the area around Avenue Maximo Gomez was the industrial heart of the nation. They then recommended that the US seek the OAS Commission's approval for the operation, which would first extend the LOC to include the area around Radio Santo Domingo and then further extend the ISZ to establish a line of departure for operations to the north to secure the industrial complexes. The plan also included the capture of the Peynado bridge, thus isolating the city and cutting the Constitutionalists' line of communication to the countryside. The planners noted that the key to the operation, and the area of heaviest resistance, would be Radio Santo Domingo. They admitted that the political consequences of these actions were largely incalculable. Whether or not the plan should be unilaterally implemented without the approval of the OAS Commission was a matter for decision in Washington.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1682 to State, 140045Z May 65, JCS IN 58597.



In response to the State Department request of 12 May, General Palmer and Ambassador Bennett submitted to the Department a draft proclamation establishing the IAF. It called for a Special Committee of the OAS MFM to appoint the commander and deputy commander, who would be supported by a staff and would exercise operational control over the troops assigned to the IAF.

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(8) Msg, Santo Domingo 1685 to State, 140300Z May 65, JCS IN 59588.

As directed by the JCS on 12 May, CINCLANT recommended procedures for logistic support of IAF (PRESS AHEAD) forces. Contingent units should deploy to the Dominican Republic at once and have equipment shortages filled after they arrived. If, however, the items involved were essential to the mission, the units should delay deployment until delivery of the items in the Dominican Republic was assured. US Service counterparts would initiate action to fill shortages.

(9-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 131900Z May 65, JCS IN 58629.

The governments of Costa Rica and Honduras formally offered contingents of 20 and 250 men, respectively, to the IAF.

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(10) State Circ 2213, 13 May 65, JCS IN 59327

The significant political development of the day occurred in Puerto Rico where Juan Bosch, continuing conversations with a US representative, agreed: 1) to seek former President Balaguer's support for a provisional government; 2) to support his former Minister of Agriculture, Silvestre Antonio Guzman for President; and 3) to inquire whether Balaguer or one of his supporters would accept a cabinet post in the new government. Bosch also agreed that the cabinet might include a person who had a special appeal to the "San Isidro" military forces.

Text in (~~TS~~-EXDIS-Gp 1) Msg, State 1135 to Santo Domingo, 20 May 65, JCS IN 70684.

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14 May 65 Constitutionalist forces made an unsuccessful attack on Imbert's troops in the Transportation Battalion Headquarters in the northwest part of the city. Thirty-two cease-fire violations were reported between 141300Z and 150100Z, but there were no US casualties.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to USCOMDOMREP, 151824Z May 65, JCS IN 62778. (~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 113-65, 15 May 65, 3-4.

Constitutionalist propaganda attacks over Radio Santo Domingo remained a problem. The station, which had been silenced by GNR air attacks the previous day, returned to the air from 0845 to 1245. It began broadcasting again at 1500. [

] At 1700 the station again went off the air, this time being knocked out by Imbert's special forces.

[ ]

The JCS were also planning operations to destroy Constitutionalist radio propaganda altogether. At their request, USCOMDOMREP submitted a plan for the destruction of Constitutionalist radio facilities by US Special Forces. [

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(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 2096 to CINCLANT, 141248Z May 65. (~~S~~-LIMDIS-Gp 1) Msg, JCS 2110 to CINCLANT, 141625Z May 65. (~~TS~~-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 142055Z May 65, JCS IN 60751. (~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1710 to State, 142330Z May 65, JCS IN 61327.

In addition to these plans for limited action by Special Forces, US military commanders also completed action on a plan for more ambitious operations in

northern Santo Domingo by US forces. The JCS having reviewed USCOMDOMREP's plan of 13 May for operations north of the LOC, asked CINCLANT whether it was the plan he wished to implement, how long it would take to begin operations after being ordered to do so, and how many Constitutionalist could be expected to oppose it. CINCLANT replied that the plan was "generally acceptable," could be implemented immediately, and would probably be opposed by about 4,000 Constitutionalists.

(S-Gp 4) Msgs, JCS 2111 to CINCLANT, 141718Z May 65 and CINCLANT to JCS, 142016Z May 65, JCS IN 60870.

Within the US Government, work continued on command relations of the proposed IAF. The State Department, having received the draft proclamation submitted the previous day by General Palmer and Ambassador Bennett, prepared a revised draft. This revision differed from the Bennett-Palmer recommendations in the following respects: 1) the commander and deputy commander were to be "designated by commanders of national contingents" and approved by the Special Commission; 2) the commander and deputy commander should not be of the same nationality; and 3) the staff was to include representatives of each member state contributing forces, apportioned according to the size of the contingent provided by each state.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, State Circ 2225, 14 May 65, JCS IN 61271.

Commenting on the proposed IAF command arrangements submitted by Ambassador Bennett and General Palmer on 9 May, the JCS recommended to the Secretary of Defense that every attempt should be made to structure the force along the following lines: 1) policy guidance should come from the OAS MFM, 2) the IAF commander should act as advisor to the Special OAS Commission, and, if a Latin American, should have USCOMDOMREP as his duputy; 3) the Special Commission should be furnished a military liaison group of from three to seven members; 4) the commanders' staff should be combined staff organized along US lines; and 5) commanders of combined component commands should be US officers. (On 17 June the Assistant Sec Def/ISA told the CJCS that the JCS views were considered and "so far as politically possible" were adopted in negotiations.)

(S-Gp 3) JCSM-363-65 to SecDef, "Command Structure for Dominican Republic - Unified Command Organization (U)," 14 May 65, derived from (S-Gp 3) JCS 2338/12-3, same subj, 11 May 65, JMF 9128.4 (3 May 65). (S-Gp 4) Memo, LTD/ISA to CJCS, same subj, 17 Jun 65, encl to (S-Gp 4) 1st N/H of JCS 2338/12-3, same subj, 21 Jun 65, JMF 9128.4 (3 May 65).

In the logistics field, the JCS approved CINCLANT's proposal of 13 May that the United States make up supply deficiencies of certain American IAF contingents. The JCS informed CINCLANT, USCINCSO, DSA, and the US Service Chiefs that US supply agencies would fill shortages when directed by JCS on request of CINCLANT.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 2144 to CINCLANT, et al., 142104Z May 65.

The first contingent of the IAF, a 250-man Honduran force, consisting of a rifle company, a MP platoon, and a medical section, arrived in the Dominican Republic. In the absence of an agreed OAS document formally establishing the IAF and defining command relationships, the Hondurans reported to the OAS Commission and not to USCOMDOMREP. General Palmer, who had assumed responsibility for performing housekeeping functions for the Latin American contingents, bivouacked the Hondurans under canvas at San Isidro.

(~~S~~) Memo, Exec Asst to CNO for Record, 00127-65, 14 May 65. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 142311Z May 65, JCS IN 61580.

Another force entered the political arena when the UN Security Council called for a strict cease-fire in the Dominican Republic. It also voted unanimously to send a fact-finding mission to the scene. Ambassador Bennett reported that the UN action had already handicapped efforts to reach a political solution; Caamano and his associates, had treated the OAS Commission with arrogance and disrespect, stating that their struggle was against American forces and that they would negotiate only with the US. As a counter to the UN action, Ambassador Bennett said he had pressed the OAS Commission without success to demonstrate its ability to handle the situation by taking such positive measures as taking over radio stations, establishing arms collection points, and trying to form a provisional government independent of the contending factions. Adding his opinion to that of Ambassador Bennett, USCOMDOMREP reported that in view of the increased number of cease-fire violations, it was "increasingly doubtful whether OAS Commission can effectively carry out its role."

(~~S~~-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 1710 to State, 142330Z May 65, JCS IN 61327. (U) Wash Post, 15 May 65, 1. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1720 to State, 151140Z May 65, JCS IN 61807. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 142311Z May 65, JCS IN 61580.

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15 May 65 — The CNR forces launched a major military offensive to clear the Constitutionalists from the industrial areas northeast of the LOC. The reported purpose of the

drive: to open the factories and allow the people to return to work. General Imbert, who commanded the drive, had about 3,000 troops, including the Quartermaster and Transportation Barracks garrisons, a battalion from San Cristobal, and 250 troops sent by General Wessin from San Isidro. Only 700 CNR troops saw action during the day, however. By nightfall, Imbert's forces had advanced eastward about six blocks to Avenida Maximo Gomez.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to USCOMDOMREP, 152332Z May 65, JCS IN 62612. (~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 114-65, 17 May 65, 1. (~~S~~-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 1737 to State, 161119Z May 65, JCS IN 63022.

In Washington the JCS were also occupied with the problem of the northeastern industrial zone [redacted]

(~~S~~-Gp 3) JCSM-372-65 to SecDef, "Establishment of a New Safety Zone and Reduction of Rebel Strong Points in Santo Domingo (U)," 15 May 65, derived from (~~S~~-Gp 3) JCS 2338/16, same subj, 14 May 65, JMF 9128.4 (14 May 65).

The JCS continued to be concerned with the problem of Constitutionalist radio propaganda. Noting that some Constitutionalist radio facilities had been destroyed, they asked CINCLANT to evaluate the remaining Constitutionalist broadcasting capabilities and make recommendations for silencing AM transmission. At the same time General Palmer reported that he had activated jamming equipment in Santiago as directed by the JCS on 14 May.

(~~S~~) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 151817Z May 65, JCS IN 62548. (~~TS~~-Gp 1) Msg, JCS 2218 to CINCLANT, 1517152 May 65.

The organization and development of an IAF continued. US officials were able to solve an intra-governmental misunderstanding over intended procedures for selecting the IAF commanders. Ambassador Bennett, CINCLANT, and USCOMDOMREP objected to the 14 May State Department draft plan, which they understood called for election of the commander and deputy commander by the national contingent commanders. The State Department replied that election by the contingent commanders was not intended; the commanders would be selected through consultations with the governments concerned, who would then instruct

their commanders how to vote. The State Department favored a Brazilian commander with a US deputy, and had instructed US missions in the countries concerned to initiate appropriate consultations.

(S-LIMDIS-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 152024Z May 65, JCS IN 62529. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1717 to State, 150445Z May 65, JCS IN 61288. (S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 150515Z May 65, JCS IN 61886. (S-Gp 3) Msg, State Circ 2232, 15 May 65, JCS IN 62766. (S-Gp 3) Msg, State 1665 to Rio de Janeiro, 15 May 65, JCS IN 62767. (S-Gp 3) Msg, State 1015 to Santo Domingo, 15 May 65, JCS IN 62760.

The State Department also informed Ambassador Bennett that the IADB's advice to the OAS (see 13 May) was not consistent with the Department's instructions concerning the composition of the IAF (see 14 May). Therefore, the Ambassador should "indicate" that the Commander Inter-American Force might find the IADB paper useful but that the agreement worked out with the contributing countries and the OAS Committee would be the governing document.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, State 1045 to Santo Domingo, 15 May 65, JCS IN 61738. (For JCS comments see 21 May 65.)

Meanwhile new contingents for the IAF, a Nicaraguan rifle company of 166 officers and men and a Costa Rican Civil Guard platoon of 21 officers and men, landed in the Dominican Republic.

(TS) NMCC OPSUM, 114-65, 17 May 65.

While drawing up contingency plans for further military action and organizing the IAF, the US continued diplomatic efforts to form a compromise government in Santo Domingo. Presidential Assistant McGeorge Bundy and Deputy Secretary of Defense Vance went to Puerto Rico to consult with Juan Bosch and Silvestre Guzman. The two Dominicans agreed to accept a provisional government led by Guzman with a cabinet minister proposed by the CNR (preferably a civilian) and an Armed Forces Minister mutually satisfactory to the CNR and Constitutionalists. They also agreed to the internment or deportation of Communists and Trujillistas, but suggested that this might have "practical disadvantages."

(TS-LIMDIS-Gp 1) Msg, State 1153 to Santo Domingo, 20 May 65, JCS IN 70634.

At the same time, Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann and Assistant Secretary of State Jack Vaughn

arrived in Santo Domingo and discussed a provisional "government of national concord."

(S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1756 to State, 172040Z May 65, JCS IN 64571.

A further action complicating the political situation was the arrival of the UN advance group, headed by the Indian Major General Rikhye. Ambassador Bennett reported that the OAS Commission, stung by the UN action of 14 May and the rebuff it received at Constitutionalist headquarters, was making plans to return to Washington.

Summing up the situation for the President, Ambassador Bennett reported that many observers considered each day of military inactivity a day of political gain for the Constitutionalists who, growing stronger, would eventually spread the revolt to the countryside. He commented on the GNR offensive begun that morning and concluded:

> Informed Dominicans and Americans are convinced no negotiated settlement is possible in absence military pressure, considering any negotiations as matters now stand can only be on rebel terms, simply delaying and making more difficult final confrontation. Perhaps today's action in northern part of city will weaken their [Constitutionalist] intransigence.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1730 to State, 160015Z May 65, JCS IN 62557. (S-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 1737 to State, 161119Z May 65, JCS IN 63022.

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16 May 65 Imbert's troops resumed the offensive north of the LOC, attacking with a force numbering about 700 men supported by armored vehicles. By noon, they had reached their stated objective, Calle Maria Montez. According to Imbert's reports, his forces had lost only 3 killed and 10 wounded, while Constitutionalist casualties numbered 200 killed and 350 prisoners.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1746 to State, 162358Z May 65, JCS IN 63487.

Radio Santo Domingo began broadcasting at 0115, but was jammed off the air at 1130. USCOMDOMREP, in response to the JCS request of 15 May, submitted a

list of all Constitutionalist broadcast facilities known to exist north of the LOC and concluded that although the Constitutionalists could broadcast on a limited basis, USCOMDOMREP could jam this broadcasting with available equipment. When the transmitters had been positively located, appropriate plans for their destruction would be prepared and submitted to CINCLANT. The plans could be implemented if jamming proved inadequate.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to USCOMDOMREP, 170157Z May 65, JCS IN 63503. (~~S~~-LIMDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 162135Z May 65, JCS IN 63398.

[redacted]

(S-EXDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 1752 to State, 170605Z May 65, JCS IN 64194.

[redacted]

[redacted]

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1753 to State, 171135Z May 65, JCS IN 63756.

Summing up the day's political development for the President, Bundy concluded:

[redacted]

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1752 to State, 170605Z May 65, JCS IN 64194.

17 May 65 The GNR offensive against Constitutionalist forces north of the LOC continued against stiffening resistance. During the day Imbert's force, numbering 1,200 men and 12 tanks, had consolidated its positions of the previous day running generally north and south along Calle Maria Montez. USCOMDOMREP estimated the strength of the Constitutionalist forces in the area at 850-1,000 men.

General Palmer reported that the GNR attack southeastward might endanger US troops guarding the northern border of the ISZ and the LOC. Therefore, he had authorized US vehicular patrols to remain near the GNR south flank and report Imbert's position. He was trying to do this unobtrusively to avoid any identification with the GNR forces.

The usual Constitutionalist sniping at US troops continued during the day, and a Constitutionalist tank fired on a 82d Airborne Division position. It was silenced by 106-mm recoilless rifle fire.

(Z-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 180248Z May 65, JCS IN 64880. (Z) NMCC OPSUM 116-65, 19 May 65, 1.

The JCS recommended to the Secretary of Defense that the US take immediate unilateral military action to reduce the Constitutionalists stronghold in northern Santo Domingo, thereby consolidating recent GNR gains, confining the Constitutionalist to one small sector of the city, and reducing their ability to carry the revolution to the countryside.

(Z-Gp 3) JCSM 377-65 to SecDef, "Military Considerations Relative to Conduct of Operations by USCOMDOMREP (U)," derived from (Z-Gp 3) JCS 2338/17, same subj, 17 May 65, JMF 9128.4 (14 May 65). (For SecDef reply see 21 May 65.)

In order to meet the objections expressed by Ambassador Bennett, CINCLANT, and USCOMDOMREP on 15 May, the State Department amended the draft act establishing the IAF to specify that the commander and deputy commander would be designated by the commanders of the national contingents upon instructions of their respective governments.

(Z-Gp 3) Msg, State Circ 2245, 17 May 65, JCS IN 65050.

US officials reported several incidents, however, that cast doubts on the effectiveness of any such inter-American peace keeping force. General Palmer reported that the OAS Commission "got cold feet" and refused to approve the planned use of Latin American contingents on international MP patrols in the ISZ. Ambassador Bennett was able to obtain the Commission's consent to moving the Latin American troops into the ISZ, but the Commission refused to list duties for the troops in spite of Secretary Mora's desire to have these units engaged in "safe and highly visible activity." General Palmer reported that the Latin American contingents were eager to be employed in an active role, but a role that was purely security and humanitarian in nature. The Latin commanders had stated that they did not come to Santo Domingo to fight. Palmer concluded that, "this is an understandable but rather curious view and makes me wonder whether a truly effective IAF can be established."

(Z-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 180248Z May 65, JCS IN 64880. (Z-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1766 to State, 180340Z May 65, JCS IN 65003.

As Latin American contingents began trickling in for the IAF, US force levels in the Dominican Republic reached their peak strength, as follows:

US Army		
Hq USCOMDOMREP	317	
82d Abn Div (9Bn)	9,650	
Non-Divisional Troops	4,922	
Total US Army		14,889
USMC		
4th MEB - Ashore	6,049	
Afloat	1,909	
Total USMC		7,958
USAF		
HQ CTF 121 (Advon)	137	
507th TAC Cont Gp and Supporting Units	864	
Total USAF		1,001
MAAG	41	41
TOTALS		23,889

(~~28~~) NMCC OPSUM 114-65, 17 May 65, 3. (S) DomRep Data, P II-2-1.

[redacted] B65

[redacted]d in spite of efforts of Secretary Mann and Ambassador Bennett to persuade it to remain, departed for Washington in the evening.

(~~C~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1766 to State, 180340Z May 65, JCS IN 65003. (~~C~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 1770 to State, 181125Z May 65, JCS IN 65412.

The US registered one diplomatic success during the day. USCOMDOMREP reported that he and Ambassador Bennett had met with General Rikhye and his UN Observation Team, that the UN official had been "completely uninformed on the US side of the story." After discussions at USCOMDOMREP Headquarters, Rikhye had commented favorably on the US modus operandi during the cease-fire. General Rikhye also discussed

the IAF and agreed with the US plans for the employment of that international force.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 180248Z May 65, JCS IN 64880.

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18 May 65 Imbert's forces continued their attack north of the LOC, reaching a general line extending from Peynado bridge southward along Avenida Maximo Gomez to the cemetary, then east 10 blocks to Avenida Manuel Ubaldo Gomez and south to Avenida San Martin, about one block west of Radio Santo Domingo.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 190610Z May 65, JCS IN 66733.

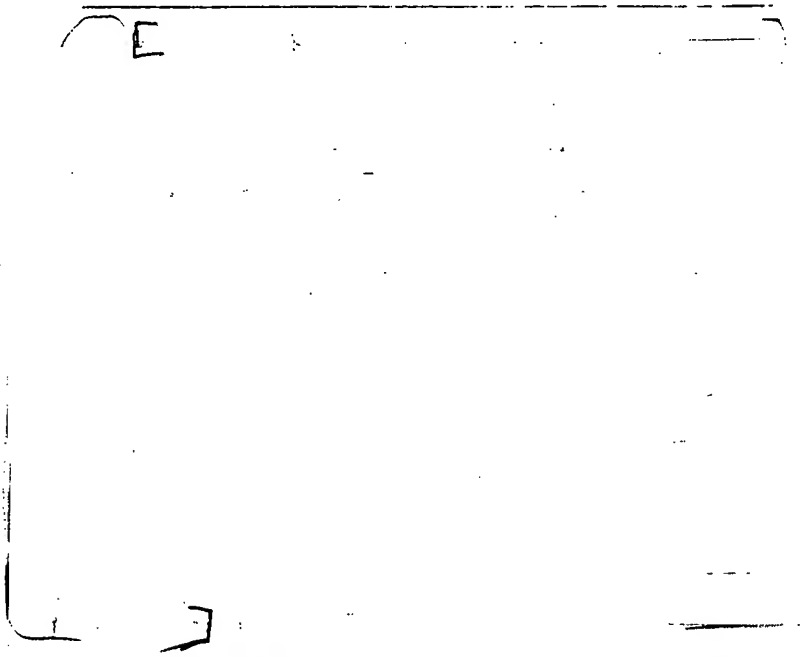
Meanwhile the Director, USIA, reported to the President that the USIA-controlled stations were dominant throughout the country. The Constitutionalist broadcast output had been reduced to a weak signal, apparently from makeshift facilities, heard only sporadically, and then only in a small area of the city. The USIA now controlled four stations in Santo Domingo, which broadcast news, public service announcements, and Alliance for Progress programs 24 hours a day. Rowan noted that US broadcasts enjoyed a Dominican audience of all political leanings. Further, he reported that Wessin and Imbert's stations had improved their broadcasting, tempering their emotional attacks and appealing for an end to the fighting.

(S) Memo, Director, USIA, to the President, "Psychological Situation Report -- Dominican Republic," 18 May 65, CJCS files.

In an effort to break the growing stalemate between the two Dominican factions, senior US officials in Santo Domingo--Bundy, Mann, Vance, Palmer, Bennett, and Martin--proposed a series of US military actions. They suggested that with the approval of the OAS and the Dominican factions, the US should physically impose its forces between the belligerents in the northern sector of the city, thereby: 1) demonstrating that the US was truly neutral, humanitarian, and desirous of a cease-fire; 2) enabling the US to prevent a disruption of negotiations by renewed fighting; and 3) reducing pressure for UN involvement by demonstrating that the OAS, through its member the US, was acting effectively. They outlined a military plan that envisaged the imposition of US troops along a north-south corridor roughly paralleling the present position of the opposing Dominican forces.

General Palmer admitted that the plan was "risky," especially if the GNR demurred. Nevertheless, it could be done, and it would effectively seal the Constitutionalists in one sector of the city.

(Z-EXDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo [illegible] to State, 181923Z May 65, JCS IN 66072. (Z-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 190610Z May 65, JCS IN 66733.



Following the breakdown in negotiations, Secretary Mann and Special Ambassador Martin left for Washington.

(Z-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1778 to State, 182055Z May 65, JCS IN 66138. (Z) Msg, Santo Domingo 1797 to State, 191155Z May 65, JCS IN 67151. (Z-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1804 to State, 191605Z May 65, JCS IN 67429.

In an effort to bring the Latin American contingents of the IAF into action as soon as possible, the US Embassy presented to Secretary General Mora a draft memorandum of understanding covering interim arrangements pending formal establishment of the IAF. The memorandum, which was to be signed by Mora and the national contingent commanders, called for Latin American contingents to perform security and humanitarian missions within the ISZ. When necessary, these contingents would work with US units to which they would assign liaison officers. Command of the Latin American contingents would remain with their national commanders; operational guidance would be channelled as far as practicable through the OAS Secretariat.

Mora approved the draft memorandum and was prepared to present it for signing to national commanders

but the State Department, considering the time inappropriate for creating a provisional IAF, ordered Ambassador Bennett not to sign the agreement.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1780 to State, 182130Z May 65, JCS IN 66350. (S) Msg, State 1109 to Santo Domingo, 18 May 65, JCS IN 66677.

US officials were apparently concerned with the question of US troop withdrawals to match IAF troop arrivals. Bundy, Vance, Bennett, and Palmer recommended against such a parity arrangement and suggested to the President that he announce: his appreciation for the arrival of the Latin American troops; his hope for the early arrival of more; his expectation that an agreement would be reached to permit their use in all areas; and his intention to withdraw a US Marine battalion as soon as these things were achieved. The four US officials agreed that such an announcement, as distinct from any action, would "slightly improve basic atmosphere for negotiations."

(S-LIMDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1790 to State, 190400Z May 65, JCS IN 66490.

The UN's presence in the Dominican Republic became official when Antonio Mayobre, special representative to the Secretary General of the UN, arrived in Santo Domingo. He told Secretary General Mora that his mission was merely to observe and report on the Dominican crisis. He noted that a cease-fire was of the first importance, and found it difficult to understand why the US with its preponderence of force could not stop Dominicans from shooting one another. Mayobre also observed that the US position was very vulnerable because it seemed to favor Imbert.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 1777 to State, 182050Z May 65, JCS IN 66059.

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19 May 65 GNR forces captured Radio Santo Domingo and continued their advance eastward. Late in the afternoon, Constitutionalist forces provoked a three-way fight with US paratroopers in the LOC and Imbert's forces in the National Palace. Two Constitutionalist leaders, Bosch protege Colonel Rafael Fernandez Dominquez and the Communist leader Juan Miguel Roman, were killed. In another incident, one US Marine was killed and another wounded when they inadvertently drove their jeep into the Constitutionalist zone.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1805 to State, 191620Z May 65, JCS IN 67506. (S) NMCC OPSUM 117-65, 20 May 65, 1.

Vance and Bundy, along with the Ambassador and USCOMDOMREP, reported that the CNR was "somewhat flushed with success," and that they were concerned over Imbert's increasing intransigence resulting from his recent victories. They proposed a modification of their 18 May plan for US military interposition between the Dominican factions; a modification that would deny Imbert the territory east of a line running along Avenue Duarte between the Rio Isabella on the north and the Rio Ozama on the east.

CINCLANT informed the JCS that he objected to the plan because it could result in US forces having to fight both factions. He added that the Constitutionalist group was controlled by "about 60 hard-core Communist leaders," and that they had killed 18 US troops and wounded 96 others. Since US was dedicated to forestalling the installation of a Communist controlled or influenced government in Santo Domingo, it should "stay quiet where we are now and let the Loyalist junta forces continue present action until rebels are defeated."

CJCS replied that he agreed with CINCLANT about the disadvantages to the proposed plan. He continued, however: "on balance, the JCS consider that the governing factors in this chaotic situation are largely political rather than military."

By evening, however, the US plan was again no longer feasible because the CNR forces had advanced up to the proposed interposition line in some places. Although USCOMDOMREP had agreed with Vance and Bundy on the feasibility of the proposed plan in the event negotiations failed, he later informed CINCLANT that it was "no longer regarded as a desirable or feasible course of action." He added "I breathed a sigh of relief, as we could visualize a situation where our troops were the ham in the sandwich,"

(Ø-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1805 to State, 191620Z May 65, JCS IN 67506. (Ø-EXDIS-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 192338Z May 65, JCS IN 68099. (Ø-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 2484 to CINCLANT, 201636Z May 65, (Ø-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 200800Z May 65, JCS IN 68615.

Vance, Bundy, Palmer, and Bennett also wanted to persuade Imbert to surrender the newly-captured Radio Santo Domingo to the OAS and Secretary Mora to accept it. In the opinion of the four American officials, "nothing could do more to move us forward here than a strong radio that tells truth and preaches peace and national concord." If the OAS refused to accept the offer, the four added, "they deserve to suffer UN interference and all other woes."

(Ø-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1801 to State, 191545Z May 65, JCS IN 67401.

[redacted]

(TS-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1798 to State, 191400Z May 65, JCS IN 67273.

[redacted]

(S-EXDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 1830 to State, 200630Z May 65, JCS IN 68533.

In Washington, the special five-man OAS Peace Commission reported that it had achieved its primary mission of arranging a cease-fire, overseeing evacuation of civilians, and arranging for emergency food and medical supplies. A four-man majority concluded that the Committee's mission was over and recommended the appointment of a single representative to act in accordance with any OAS resolutions calling for further action. The Commission majority said that the presence of UN observers had interfered with the Committee's mission and recommended that the OAS request the UN to withdraw. Finally, it recommended that the OAS refrain from "forming a Dominican government as distinct from seeking a return to peace and normality." The Panamanian member filed a minority report disagreeing with this last point and also opposing dissolution of the Committee and its replacement by a single representative.

(U) Wash Post, 20 May 65, 1.

20 May 65

The CNR continued its largely unopposed eastward advance in northern Santo Domingo. Imbert's forces now controlled the whole area west of Avenue Duarte, just five blocks short of the Rio Ozama. Meanwhile, the International Red Cross and the World Health Organization proposed a 24-hour cease-fire beginning at 1200 on 21 May to allow for the removal of dead and wounded from the battle area. The truce, negotiated by UN representatives Mayobre and Rikhye, was signed by both Imbert and Caamano.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1846 to State, 210030Z May 65, JCS IN 69833.

The US continued to work on the difficult problem of organizing the IAF. The JCS advised the Secretary of Defense that they still supported their 14 May view on IAF organization, command arrangements, and force structure, but in view of the intent to name a Brazilian as commander, the JCS "consider it vital" that the US name the deputy. The deputy should operate in a dual capacity: internationally he should exercise "considerable influence" on the Commander to direct operations that would further US objectives; nationally, he should have the flexibility necessary to allow US unilateral action if required. The JCS added that "it is of paramount importance" that the US maintian "sufficient flexibility" to permit unilateral US military action, using other than IAF committed forces.

The JCS concluded that the size and exact composition of IAF forces could not be assessed until the Latin American contributions were operationally effective. Moreover, the US should resist pressure to reduce its forces--pressure that was bound to increase as the Latin Americans arrived--until the IAF was fully capable of carrying out its mission without these US forces.

(S-Gp 4) JCSM 393-65 to SecDef, "Considerations Relative to the Establishment of an Inter-American Force in the Dominican Republic (U)," 20 May 65, derived from (S-Gp 4) JCS 2338/19, same subj, 18 May 65, JMF 9128.4 (18 May 65). (For SecDef reply see 2 Jun 65.)

The JCS also recommended to the Secretary of Defense that the OAS should finance the transportation and soft goods costs of the Latin American contingents. If that proved impossible, the JCS suggested that the costs should be underwritten by AID and the President's Special Contingency Fund, not by MAP.

(S-Gp 4) JCSM 397-65 to SecDef, "Financial Support Concept, OAS Forces in the Dominican Republic (U)," 20 May 65, derived from (S-Gp 4) JCS 2338/18, same subj, 18 May 65, JMF 9128.4

(18 May 65). No decision on the financing of the IAF had been made as of 1 Feb 66. On 9 Jul 65, the Administrator, AID, informed the Deputy SecDef that the financing would not be decided "pending interpretation of the Fulbright amendment and other elements of foreign assistance." (S) Ltr, Adm, AID, to Dep SecDef, 9 Jul 65, encl to (C-Gp 4) JCS 2338/31, "Estimate for FY 1966 to Support an Inter-American Force (U)," 16 Jul 65, JMF 9128.4 (9 Jul 65).

Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan and Honduran units were deployed in the ISZ in anticipation of agreement on their mission by OAS authorities.

(~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 118-65, 21 May 65, 1.

The OAS, however, was more immediately concerned with establishing a permanent cease-fire. The OAS accepted the recommendations made the previous day by its Special Commission and named Secretary General Mora to succeed the Commission as its representative in the Dominican Republic. Mora was specifically instructed to negotiate a strict cease-fire in accordance with the Act of Santo Domingo, to provide his good offices to both sides in seeking a settlement, and to coordinate these activities with the UN representatives in Santo Domingo.

(U) Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1354, (7 Jun 65), 912.

Hope for a permanent cease-fire and settlement of the crisis appeared dim, however, with Imbert proving increasingly intransigent. Imbert denied to the press any movement toward a coalition government with the Constitutionalists, claiming that the GNR represented "total reconstruction of economic and political systems" and claimed to have proof of Communist support for the Constitutionalist cause.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1846 to State, 210030Z May 65, JCS IN 69833.

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21 May 65 The 24-hour cease-fire, in which, Ambassador Bennett reported, "OAS unfortunately played no role," went into effect at 1200. Despite scattered firing, the UN team pronounced the truce effective.

The cease-fire marked the beginning of a new phase in the Dominican crisis. Imbert's forces had successfully swept the area north of the LOC as far as the Rio Ozama, and with one exception, the opposing Dominican factions were now left in to areas separated by US forces in the LCC and the ISZ. The exception ~~was~~ the National Palace, ~~held by~~ 250 Loyalist troops, deep in Constitutionalist territory.

The US was now in a position where it could exercise substantial control over the course of events. Secretary Vance made clear that the US was determined to exercise this control when he told Imbert that the Loyalists would not be permitted to attack the Constitutionalists "either by land or sea."

The OAS tried to build on the successful cease-fire. It called on the Dominican factions to convert the 24-hour truce into a permanent cease-fire in accordance with the Act of Santo Domingo. Secretary Mora was instructed to communicate the text of the OAS resolution to the Dominicans and "to do everything possible to accomplish its objectives."

(S) Msgs, Santo Domingo 1878 to State, 220015Z May 65, JCS IN 71638 and Santo Domingo 1893 to State, 221045Z May 65, JCS IN 72268. (U) Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1354 (7 Jun 65), 913.

In spite of the success of the cease-fire, a political solution to the crisis seemed farther away than ever. Imbert refused to enter into an agreement with the Constitutionalists or to return to the 1963 Constitution. Ambassador Bennett reported that while the Constitutionalists put on a "brave but conciliatory and uncertain front," Imbert refused to extend the cease-fire, and rejected any agreement with the Constitutionalists. Imbert did, however, agree to turn Radio Santo Domingo over to the OAS. (See, however, item of 27 May.)

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 1893 to State, 221045Z May 65, JCS IN 72268. (S-EXDIS-Gp 2) Santo Domingo 1881 to State, 220140Z May 65, JCS IN 71719.

Meanwhile, the Secretary of Defense informed the CJCS that the JCS recommendations of 15 and 17 May for unilateral US military action to seize the Constitutionalist-controlled industrial area north of the LOC were being held in abeyance. (An ex post facto memorandum, since the GNR had been in control of the whole area since 1200.)

(S) Memo, SecDef to CJCS, "Military Consideration Relative to Conduct of Operations by USCOMDOMREP (U)," 21 May 65, attached to (S-Gp 3) JCS 2338/16-1, same subj, 25 May 65, JMF 9128.4 (14 May 65).

The JCS recommended that the CJCS discuss with OSD and State the 15 May State Department message to Ambassador Bennett that challenged the advice of the IADB and did not "reflect any coordination with the Joint Chiefs of Staff." The JCS noted that the IADB had acted with dispatch and at the request of recognized authority to produce advice that was

"in harmony" with JCS views. The JCS added that to forego the IADB advice would lose needed support for the US. They suggested using the IADB action "as a springboard for appropriate US activity." [CJCS action on this recommendation is not reflected in available records.]

(~~S~~-Gp 4) JCS 2338/20, "OAS/IADB Collaboration on the Intra-American Force (U)," 19 May 65, JMF 9128.4 (19 May 65).

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22 May 65

The cease-fire proved generally effective, and General Palmer reported the quietest 24-hour period since he had arrived in Santo Domingo. During the morning Imbert rejected a Red Cross appeal for a second 24-hour truce, but he did promise to abstain from initiating operations while peace talks begun by OAS Secretary General Mora continued. After the expiration of the agreed truce at 1200 hours, however, Constitutionalist violations increased, and the GNR forces began mop-up operations in the northern sector of the city.

General Palmer reported to CINCLANT and CJCS that the Constitutionalists had initiated 34 armed attacks resulting in 6 US wounded in the first post-cease-fire hours. He noted that these attacks came at a time when the cease-fire had been "accepted and extended" by the Loyalists and were a "deliberately planned, premeditated rupture" of the cease-fire. He had urged Ambassador Bennett to protest to the OAS and the UN representatives and warned that despite the "sensitive and important negotiations" in progress, he could not allow his troops to suffer such attacks indefinitely. He recommended that CJCS and CINCLANT inform the Secretary of Defense and the JCS of the danger and suggested that Caamano be warned of possible US retaliation.

Fighting in the city ceased at 1800 hours, the Loyalists claiming that all Constitutionalist resistance in the northern area had been overcome. In a related move, USCOMDOMREP, with OAS approval, permitted two defecting Constitutionalist units to cross the ISZ after their arms had been confiscated.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 230530Z May 65, JCS IN 73218. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, State Circ 2324, 22 May 65, JCS IN 73546. (S) Msgs, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 230659Z May 65 and 220630Z May 65. (~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 120-65, 24 May 65, 1.

The UN Security Council approved a French resolution calling for a permanent cease-fire in the Dominican Republic. At the same meeting, the Security Council rejected new Soviet demands for a condemnation of US intervention and for immediate withdrawal of US troops.

(U) NY Times, 23 May 65, 1.

The IAF came closer to reality when the O.A. Foreign Ministers approved a resolution requesting Brazil to name a commander of the IAF and the US to designate a deputy commander. The resolution directed Secretary General Mora to organize the force as outlined in the 6 May resolution and suggested the establishment of a committee to study the functioning and maintenance of the IAF.

(U) Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1354, (7 Jun 65), 913.

Secretary Vance and General Palmer informed the CJCS, that "from the military standpoint" they believed that the one US Marine BLT (1,600 men) then afloat off the Dominican Republic could be withdrawn immediately and that a second Marine BLT (1,700 men) could at least be withdrawn to ships offshore when the Brazilian IAF contingent arrived.

(S-EXDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 1916 to State, 230140Z May 65, JCS IN 73023.

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23 May 65 General Palmer reported a generally quiet city. US troops were avoiding confrontation with Constitutionalist forces near the LOC and were returning fire only in the case of major attacks in order to avoid any "distorted picture" being presented to the OAS or the UN representatives. Palmer had denied Constitutionalist charges of US advances into their territory, and had so informed the UN.

Meanwhile, chances of a cease-fire improved. Secretary Mora met with Caamano who agreed to accept a cease-fire, and Imbert was reported willing to refrain from initiating any military actions. Late in the day Mora was able to announce the establishment of an informal cease-fire.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 240400Z May 65, JCS IN 73802. (U) Wash Post, 24 May 65, 12.

Radio Santo Domingo returned to the air, and Imbert made a 15-minute address to the nation, denying any dictatorial aspirations and soliciting support, especially from the Dominican youth, for himself and his "provisional and transitory GNR."

(U) Msg, Santo Domingo 1947 to State, 240130Z May 65, JCS IN 73715.

Secretary Mora and the commanders of the contingents contributed by Brazil, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, and the US signed an act formally establishing the IAF. The IAF was constituted as a

Unified Command, with a commander, a deputy, and a staff, and national contingents from OAS states. The commander would exercise operational control over the force; command, less operational control over the national contingents, would remain with the national commanders. The commander would also issue Force regulations and establish a table of organization and a chain of command. The staff would include representatives of each member state contributing forces, apportioned according to the size of the contribution. In accordance with the OAS resolution of 22 May, Brazil named General Hugo Panasco Alvim as force commander, and the US named General Palmer as deputy commander.

Unclassified text in (~~TS~~) DomRep Data, IV, 1-4.

The Brazilian contingent was authorized to proceed to the Dominican Republic, and the JCS directed CINCSTRIKE to provide CINCLANT the tactical airlift required to move this contingent. The Brazilian advance military element (23 personnel) arrived in Santo Domingo at 1800.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 2675 to CSAF, et al., 232359Z May 65. (S) Telecon item, NMCC to White House, 240156Z May 65.

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24 May 65 US technicans stopped jamming the Constitutionalist broadcasting facilities at 1200, and immediately the Caamano government returned to the air over a "Radio Santo Domingo." The official Radio Santo Domingo, meanwhile, continued operating under GNR control.

There was no significant military activity during the day. The IAF, however, initiated operations with three-man police teams patrolling the LOC and ISZ from the Duarte Bridge to the Embajador Hotel. Each team consisted of a soldier from the US, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

(S) Resume of Significant Intelligence Relating to the DOMREP, 25 May 65, CJCS files. (~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 121-65, 25 May 65, 1.

In anticipation of the Latin American buildup in the IAF, the JCS asked CINCLANT and COMDOMREP to submit their views on the withdrawal of US forces, using as a guideline the withdrawal of up to 10,000 troops over the next 10 days to two weeks. The JCS added that "highest authority recognize political desirability" of substantial US withdrawal in order to "place problems associated with reestablishing governmental control squarely in hands of OAS."

(~~TS~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 2703 to CINCLANT, 241914Z May 65.

In response to the JCS request, [illegible] submitted a plan for the progressive reduction of US forces in the Dominican Republic. Predicated on the assumption that Santo Domingo, with the exception of the Constitutionalist zone, would continue to progress toward "normalcy," the plan outlined a force reduction from the current nine infantry and three Marine battalions ashore and the one Marine Battalion afloat (i.e. BLT 1/2 under CTF 124) to a total of seven infantry battalions (i.e. the 82nd Airborne Division minus two infantry battalions). The US force remaining in the Dominican Republic would be required to maintain: 1) the physical separation of the GNR and Constitutionalist forces; 2) the capability to reduce the Constitutionalist resistance south of the LOC; 3) capability to protect US and foreign nationals; and 4) a balanced US contribution to, and necessary support for, the IAF.

General Palmer recommended a three-phase reduction:

1. Immediate withdrawal: 3,500 Marines (one half afloat); 1,552 Army troops; and 68 Air Force personnel, reducing the US forces to eleven battalions ashore.

2. Withdrawal within seven days: the remaining Marines (4,500 men), reducing the US force to nine infantry battalions of the 82d Airborne Division.

3. Withdrawal within 14 days: a brigade force of two battalions and Divisional support troops (2,000 men), leaving seven US infantry battalions in the Dominican Republic.

General Palmer concluded that the remaining US forces would be deployed as follows: four battalions would seal off the Constitutionalist zone; one battalion would be stationed at San Isidro airfield and Port Andres; and the remaining two battalions would be held in ready reserve status, probably at the Rio Ozama Bridge and the ISZ.

(~~TS~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 250530Z May 65, JCS IN 75186.

[redacted]

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1963 to State, 241830Z May 65, JCS IN 74432. (~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1985 to State, 251900Z May 65, JCS IN 76274.

One further political development: the USSR renewed its demand in the UN Security Countil that the US be condemned for "aggression" against the Dominican Republic. Meanwhile, President Johnson ordered an FBI team into the Republic to investigate the extent and nature of Communist influence in the crisis.

(U) Wash Post, 25 May 65, 1 and 15.

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25 May 65 The military situation continued calm, with the exception of a brief flare-up when Constitutionalist troops attacked the power plant, located just inside the ISZ, and the Loyalist-held National Palace. To give better protection to the power plant, General Palmer recommended to the OAS that the ISZ boundary in the vicinity of the plant be extended.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 260531Z May 65, JCS IN 77154.

USCOMDOMREP reported to CINCLANT that in response to Secretary McNamara's telephoned instructions to Secretary Vance at 0930, he had ordered the withdrawal of 600 US Marines from the 4th MEB to begin at 0800 26 May. (The 600 figure approximated the number of Latin American troops in the IAF.)

As a result of discussion with the Secretary of Defense, the JCS directed CINCLANT and General Palmer to consult with General Alvim and obtain his agreement for subsequent US troop withdrawals. The JCS also wanted General Alvim to state his requirement for a US reserve force remaining in a quick reaction readiness posture for immediate return to the Dominican Republic.

(~~TS~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 2780 to CINCLANT and COMDOMREP, 252023Z May 65. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 252047Z May 65, JCS IN 76407.

General Palmer's 24 May withdrawal plan was echoed by CINCLANT who outlined the same plan for the JCS but in terms of units rather than numbers of men. CINCLANT listed the following:

1. Immediate withdrawal: BLT 1/2 (now afloat); HMM 263 (now afloat) BLT 3/6 (now ashore and to be reembarked in Phibron Ten and reconstitute ready Phibron, under CINCLANTFLT); 6th MEU Headquarters (to be re-embarked with BLT 3/6 if directed by CG 4th MEB); and miscellaneous army support units.

2. Withdrawal within seven days: BLT 1/6; Company D, 1st Battalion, 8th Marines; 6th MEU Headquarters (if not already re-embarked); 4th MEB Headquarters.

3. Withdrawal within 130 days: Two airborne infantry battalions with appropriate reinforcing units.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 252314Z May 65, JCS IN 76719.

President Johnson, after a "full review" of Dominican policy, approved a recommendation by Bundy and Vance that they return to Washington, thus terminating their efforts to build a broadly-based, moderate, anti-Communist government around Guzman, and leaving negotiations to the OAS. Before leaving Santo Domingo, Bundy and Vance were ordered by President Johnson to hold summary conversations with Caamano and Imbert to review the situation and caution restraint pending arrival of OAS representatives. Bundy was to depart on 26 May; Vance was to remain a few days to work on problems relating to the IAF.

(~~S~~-EXDIS) Msg, President to Bundy and Vance, 25 May 65, CJCS files. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, State Circ 2347, 25 May 65, JCS IN 77676.

Bundy and Vance met with Mora, Caamano and his chief aids, Hector Aristy and Jottin Cury, and Guzman. Bundy outlined the remaining obstacles to a political solution: Constitutionalist insistence on a return to the 1963 constitution; Constitutionalist demands for command of the Dominican Army; and Constitutionalist refusal to deal with the Communist problem.

Caamano and his associates began by reiterating their positions on all these issues, but later offered the following concessions: Constitutionalist leaders would not seek places in the new government; they wanted a government covering the broadest possible range of Dominican political opinion; they agreed to submit the 1963 constitution to a referendum; and they wanted new government with "closest possible ties" with the US, based on a common opposition to Communism.

(~~S~~-EXDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 2003 to State, 261050Z May 65, JCS IN 77492.

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(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 1990 to State, 260130Z May 65, JCS IN 76834.

26 May 65 Nine cease-fire violations marred the general military calm in Santo Domingo. US troops returned the Constitutionalist fire in two incidents. In view of the continued Constitutionalist attacks on US troops, the JCS prepared a draft joint-State-Defense protest to the OAS/UN representatives warning that the US would "conduct appropriate retaliatory attacks." CJCS concluded, however, that with the establishment of the IAF, the recommended draft had been overtaken by events, and the message was never sent.

(~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 123-65, 27 May 65, 1. (~~S~~-Gp 3) DJSM 616-65 to CJCS, "US Protest to OAS/UN regarding Unprovoked Attacks Against US (~~S~~)," 26 May 65 with attached CJCS comments, CJCS files.

The build-up of the IAF continued, with 400 additional Brazilian troops arriving, raising the Latin American contribution to 1,035. General Palmer continued to have reservations about the IAF and advised CINCLANT that it would be a "grave mistake" to place all US forces in the Dominican Republic under OAS control, making unilateral action by the US difficult if not impossible. He recommended that no more than a three-battalion brigade be formally assigned to the IAF. Palmer reported that Secretary Vance, with whom he had discussed the matter, saw no alternative but to assign all US forces present to the IAF. Vance believed that the US would have to depend on getting operational control of the IAF in the hands of the deputy commander as a safeguard. Palmer also noted that he had not received orders formally assigning US forces to the IAF, nor was he aware of any official documents on the subject.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 270321Z May 65, JCS IN 78885. (~~S~~) Telecon item, NMCC to White House, 270918Z May 65.

General Palmer reported that Secretary Vance concurred in his withdrawal plan, although Vance believed the timetable could be accelerated. General Palmer agreed with Vance on this point and recommended to CINCLANT that the 10,000 troops ashore covered by the plan be taken out over the next seven to ten days.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 270605Z May 65, JCS IN 79079.

During the day, the actual redeployment of US forces got under way. By verbal authority of Secretary Vance who was carrying out Secretary McNamara's instructions, General Palmer began withdrawal of Marine BLT 3/6. A total of 915 Marines had embarked by the end of the day. An additional withdrawal took place as the result of a JCS message authorizing CINCLANT to return to normal operations Marine BLT 1/2 and HMM 263, plus the ships in which they were embarked. As a result, the USS Okinawa and associated shipping carrying these units departed for CONUS at 1800. The JCS also authorized the redeployment of the 353d Tactical Fighter Squadron now at Ramey AF Base.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 261730Z May 65, JCS IN 77804. (S) Telecon item, NMCC to White House, 270214Z May 65. (S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 2883 to CINCLANT, 262110Z May 65. (TS-Gp 1) NMCC OPSUM 133-65, 27 May 65, 1.

The political situation remained stalemated, and, as ordered by the President on 25 May, Bundy left Santo Domingo to report on the situation prior to the OAS Meeting of Foreign Ministers. Secretary Vance remained to work on current military problems, including the physical control of the National Palace and the security of the power plant. His meetings with Imbert and Caamano, however, were largely unproductive.

At a press conference, Caamano listed the following conditions for a political settlement: the 1963 constitution and the 1962 congress must be restored, the Constitutional military leaders must be maintained "in position of command"; a government composed of "democratic civilians" must be formed; and the "interventionist troops" must be withdrawn.

(C) Msg, Santo Domingo 1998 to State, 260355Z May 65, JCS IN 77152. (S-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 2017 to State, 270112Z May 65, JCS IN 78498. (S-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 2022 to State, 270510Z May 65, JCS IN 78969. (C) Msg, Santo Domingo 2016 to State, 270045Z May 65, JCS IN 78673. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 2031 to State, 271808Z May 65, JCS IN 79911.

27 May 65 As the result of OAS negotiations, a block-wide buffer zone was established west of the Santo Domingo power plant. No progress was reported, however, on the OAS plan to assume control of Radio Santo Domingo, and General Palmer informed CINCLANT that Imbert had

no intention of surrendering the station to the OAS until Caamano had placed Constitutionalist stations in OAS hands. General Palmer placed paratroop-platoons around the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank to forestall any GNR move to obtain money or sign checks not properly authorized by the OAS.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 272013Z May 65. (S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 280430Z May 65, JCS IN 80660.

CINCLANT agreed with USCOMDOMREP that it would be a "grave mistake" to place all US forces in the Dominican Republic in the IAF, and he recommended that the US contribution be limited to a three-battalion brigade. He further recommended that General Palmer, as Deputy Commander IAF, should retain his status as USCOMDOMREP, a US commander with authority to employ US forces for such unilateral action as might be necessary. He also recommended that a clear political and military directive be issued the IAF, assigning it a MP/security role.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 271832Z May 65.

CJCS informed CINCLANT and General Palmer, however, that "the U.S. would be in an untenable position should we withhold any sizable troop elements from IAF commitments" since the US had initiated the IAF concept. CJCS noted that General Palmer, as the IAF Deputy Commander, should have operational control of ground forces or be designated by the IAF Commander as Field Forces Commander. This would give him proper authority to control operations in the US interests. Moreover, he believed that since the US was providing the bulk of the IAF forces, General Palmer could exercise "powerful leverage" to influence operations.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 1) Msg, CJCS 2997 to CINCLANT and USCOMDOMREP, 272213Z May 65.

Meanwhile the IAF continued to grow as USAF C-130's delivered 431 Brazilian troops and cargo to the Dominican Republic. To meet logistic requirements, the JCS directed CSA to fill USCOMDOMREP's requirement for vehicles for IAF contingents.

(C-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 2986 to CSA and CINCLANT, 272119Z May 65. (S) Telecon item, NMCC to White House, 280210Z May 65.

The JCS informed the Secretary of Defense that they had reviewed and agreed with the military aspects of the USCOMDOMREP plan of 26 May for the phased reduction of US forces in the Dominican Republic. Marine BLT 3/6 completed embarkation in ships of the USS Boxer Amphibious Group which then took up positions off-shore. There were now a total of 19,219 US military personnel remaining in the Dominican Republic.

(~~TS~~-Gp 3) JCSM-414-65 to SecDef, "Forces in the Dominican Republic (U)," 27 May 65, derived from (~~TS~~-Gp 3) JCS 2338/12-4, same subj, 26 May 65, JMF 9128.4 (25 May 65). (According to the JCS Control Division, no action was required by OSD on this JCSM. Mr. Quant (ISA) reported that action was taken at a higher level.) (~~S~~) Telecon Item, NMCC to White House, 280210Z May 65. (~~S~~) NMCC Rept, "Force status-DOMREP," 27 May 65.

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28 May 65 Secretary Mora announced that the OAS had assumed control of the Dominican Central Bank to prevent "irresponsible" use of its funds by Imbert and the GNR. Mora cited the OAS resolution giving him a mandate to prevent economic chaos in the Dominican Republic as his authority for the action.

(U) NY Times, 29 May 65, 1.

The State Department forwarded to General Palmer joint State/Defense "Regulations for the OAS Inter-American Force," requesting that he submit them to General Alvim, and that if acceptable to the Commander, they be issued as soon as possible. The draft regulations gave the Commander operational control over the IAF and made him responsible for the performance of all functions assigned to the IAF by the OAS. They authorized the Deputy Commander, "the alter ego of the commander," to perform duties assigned him by the Commander and to exercise full powers in the absence of the Commander. The regulations further provided that the Commander establish an OAS Unified Command Headquarters and designate a chain of command for the IAF, making use of the officers of the OAS Unified Command and the commanders of the national contingents in the IAF.

(U) Msg, State 1273 to Santo Domingo, 28 May 65, JCS IN 81835.

Reduction of the US forces in the Dominican Republic continued with the embarkation of 356 US Marines from miscellaneous units of the 4th MEB. The JCS also directed CINCLANT to make a further

reduction by redeploying approximately 1,700 US Army and Air Force personnel, the main body to depart on 29 May.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3045 to CINCLANT and CINCSTRIKE, 281752Z May 65. (TS-Gp 1) NMCC OPSUM 125-65, 29 May 65, 1.

In a speech at Baylor University, President Johnson urged the establishment of "new international machinery" to deal with Communist subversion and revolution in the Western Hemisphere. He also defended the US role in the Dominican crisis and announced that 1,700 additional troops would be withdrawn from Santo Domingo the next day.

(U) NY Times, 29 May 65, 2.

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29 May 65 The final Brazilian contingent for the IAF arrived in the Dominican Republic, bringing the Brazilian force strength to 1,129 men and the total Latin American troop deployment to 1,562 men. Brazilian General Panasco Alvim arrived in Santo Domingo and assumed command of the IAF. At the same time 745 of the 1,700 US Army and AF personnel ordered redeployed by the JCS on 28 May departed the Dominican Republic.

(S) Telecon items, NMCC to White House, 300300Z May 65 and 300951Z May 65.

Ambassador Bennett reported no progress in arriving at a political solution.

[redacted]

Meanwhile, Santo Domingo and the countryside slowly returned to "as much normalcy as circumstance would permit."

Secretary Vance completed his mission in Santo Domingo and returned to Washington.

(TS-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 2077 to State, 291120Z May 65, JCS IN 82501. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2097 to State, 292300Z May 65, JCS IN 83094.

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30 May 65 Redeployment of the 1,700 US Army and Air Force personnel to CONUS begun the previous day was completed, ending Phase I of the US troop withdrawal and leaving US troop strength in the Dominican Republic at 18,900. In preparation for the Phase II withdrawal, the JCS directed CINCLANT to prepare to return all the remaining Marine units and associated shipping to normal operations and to expect an execute order within 24 to 48 hours. General Alvim, the IAF commander, approved this withdrawal.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 310153Z May 65, JCS IN 83861. (S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 310636Z May 65, JCS IN 83866. (S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3142 to CINCLANT, 302343Z May 65. (S) Telecon Item, NMCC to White House, 310200Z May 65.

To meet logistic support requirements of the IAF, CINCLANT requested JCS authority to introduce an engineer construction force of less than 300 men into the Dominican Republic.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 310100Z May 65, JCS IN 83703.

The GNR refused to turn over Radio Santo Domingo to the OAS, as a result, US equipment was withdrawn from the station.

(S) Telecon item, NMCC to White House, 310200Z May 65.

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31 May 65 In Washington a closed, informal session of the OAS MFM considered Secretary General Mora's report on the status of negotiations in the Dominican Republic, "the acceptability of the IAF," and the cease-fire situation. Mora concluded that the creation of an ad hoc committee could be "extremely useful and valuable as a complementary measure to those taken by the MFM." Following a discussion of the Mora report, the MFM received from the Brazilian delegate a draft resolution proposing a three-man committee of prominent diplomats to seek a political solution to the Dominican crisis. Discussion of the Brazilian resolution was scheduled for the next day.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, State Circ 2398, 010250Z Jun 65, JCS IN 84332. (U) NY Times, 1 Jun 65, 1.

In preparation for the redeployment announced by the JCS on 30 May, USCOMDOMREP submitted a plan for withdrawal of all US Marines left in the Dominican Republic (4,100 men). He suggested a two-phase withdrawal: one BLT (2,050 men) to depart on 1-3 June and the second on 4-6 June.

(S-Gp 3) J-3 TP 29-65, 1 June 65, JMF 9128.4 (25 May 65).

JUNE

1 Jun 65 A US Army officer and two enlisted men were captured when they accidently wandered into the Constitutionalist zone. They were turned over to the OAS representative and returned unharmed to the ISZ.

(~~TS~~-Gp 1) NMCC OPSUM 127-65, 2 Jun 65, 1.

The JCS informed the Secretary of Defense that they concurred in General Palmer's recommendation for the withdrawal of the remaining 4,000 Marines in the Dominican Republic by 6 June. The Deputy Secretary of Defense forwarded the proposal to the President with the additional recommendation that the withdrawal of this force not be announced until 4 June. President Johnson announced at a press conference that the Marine BLT would be withdrawn from Santo Domingo. In consonance with this announcement, the JCS directed CINCLANT to withdraw one of the BLTs and to expect the announcement of the withdrawal of the remaining BLT on 4 June.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) JCSM-423-65, "Withdrawal of US Marine Forces from the Dominican Republic (U)," 1 Jun 65, derived from (~~S~~-Gp 3) JCS 2338/22, same subj, 1 Jun 65. (~~S~~) Memo, Dep SecDef to President, 1 Jun 65, reproduced in JCS 2338/22. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3133 to CINCLANT, 012045Z Jun 65. All in JMF 9128.4 (25 May 1965).

While US force redeployments from the Dominican Republic were being planned, the US continued to deploy certain elements to Santo Domingo. The JCS approved a CINCLANT request of 30 May for an augmented US Army construction company, not to exceed 300 men, for the Dominican Republic, specifying that equal numbers of light engineering units there should be returned to normal operations in CONUS upon arrival of the construction company.

In response to a request by General Palmer, the JCS approved the dispatch of three H-13 helicopters and three L-20 liaison aircraft to the Dominican Republic for use by the Brazilian contingent of the IAF.

(~~C~~-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3167 to CSA et al., 011838Z Jun 65. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3193 to CINCLANT, 012313Z Jun 65.

Secretary General Mora succeeded in getting Imbert to sign an agreement for the neutralization of the National Palace by the IAF.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2169 to State, 012345Z Jun 65, JCS IN 85462.

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2 Jun 65 In accordance with the agreement of the previous day, IAF troops began the demilitarization of a zone around the National Palace at 1100 hours. The demilitarization was completed at 1900 hours without incident, and approximately 360 GNR troops, 12,000 weapons, and several combat vehicles were evacuated from the Palace.

(S) Telecon Item, NMCC to White House, 031010Z Jun 65.

As recommended by Secretary General Mora on 31 May, the OAS Meeting of Foreign Ministers approved a resolution establishing a three-man mediation committee to continue the negotiations being carried out by Mora and to provide political guidance to the IAF. The committee was composed of Ellsworth Bunker of the US, Ilmar Penna Marinho of Brazil, and Ramon de Clairmont Duenas of El Salvador.

(U) Dept of State Bulletin, LII, 1356 (21 Jun 65), 1018.

In response to the JCS recommendation of 20 May for a more precise statement of the IAF mission, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA) informed the CJCS that the wisest course would be to accept the language of the 6 May OAS resolution as applicable to the IAF as a whole and to introduce greater military precision in the statements of mission of the subordinate elements of the IAF. The Secretary stated that the JCS suggestion for possible US unilateral action outside the IAF would have to await the developments in the Dominican Republic, adding that the US was committed to working within the IAF and that US military actions should be in accordance with this commitment.

(S) Memo, Dep ASD/ISA to CJCS, 2 June 65, encl to (S-Gp 3) JCS 2338/19-1, "Considerations Relative to the Establishment of an Inter-American Force in the Dominican Republic (U)," 4 June 65.

The redeployment of the Marine BLT (2,050 men) ordered on 1 June began; it was scheduled to be completed on 3 June by 1500 hours. CINCLANT requested authority to return to CONUS three RF-101 aircraft, twelve F-104 aircraft, and the photo processing cell from Ramey AFB, Puerto Rico.

(S) Msg, NMCC to White House, 031010Z Jun 65.
(S-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 021850Z May 65, JCS IN 87043.

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3 Jun 65 During the night of 2-3 June, the Constitutionalists directed heavy fire at US troops in the Sans Souci area, east of the Rio Ozama, provoking return fire. General Palmer reported that the Constitutionalists might be attempting to draw prolonged US fire in the presence of UN or other observers, and he cautioned his officers to be "very careful" in returning fire. There were also separate attacks during the night on the army barracks and the police headquarters in the provincial town of San Juan de la Maguana.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2221 to State, 032347Z Jun 65, JCS IN 88864. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2206 to State, 031130Z Jun 65, JCS IN 87872.

Meanwhile, in reply to a CINCLANT request of 2 June, JCS directed the return to normal operations of one reconnaissance element (3 RF-101s), one FIS (12 F-104s), and the photo processing cell from Ramey AFB, Puerto Rico.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3277 to CINCLANT, 031442Z Jun 65.

The OAS changed the name of the Inter-American Force (IAF) to the Inter-American Peace Force (IAPF). General Palmer stressed to General Alvim the urgent need to publish regulations for the IAPF. Alvim indicated that he was writing a new draft of the regulations based on the US draft (forwarded to General Palmer by the State Department on 28 May) which he would submit to the Brazilian government. Palmer suggested that the IAPF regulations might have to be negotiated at the Washington level.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 040445Z Jun 65.

The three-man OAS committee arrived in Santo Domingo to work with Secretary General Mora for a political solution to the crisis and to provide political guidance and direction to the IAPF.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2221 to State, 032347Z Jun 65, JCS IN 88864.

The Soviet Union attacked the creation of the IAPF in the UN Security Council. The USSR called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Dominican Republic, and requested the Council to take up Constitutionalist allegations of GNR atrocities. The US

Delegate rejected the Soviet charges and protested that the Council had been called into urgent session to provide a Soviet propaganda platform. The Council also received a letter from 13 Latin American states upholding the OAS action in the Dominican Republic.

(U) NY Times, 4 Jun 65, 4.

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4 Jun 65 Mortar and bazooka fire into the Constitutionalist zone, allegedly from the Sans Souci area, resulted in the death of a woman and a small child.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2245 to State, 050610Z Jun 65, JCS IN 90747.

In accordance with the JCS directive that all remaining USMC units and associated amphibious shipping be returned to normal operations, the Marines began reembarkation at 0930 hours; the operation was scheduled to be completed by 6 June. The 2d Battalion, 325th Airborne Infantry, relieved the departing 4th MEB in the ISZ.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3338 to CINCLANT, 041247Z Jun 65. (S) Telecon Item, NMCC to White House, 050315Z Jun 65. (C) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 050250Z Jun 65.

The JCS also requested CINCLANT's comments on further US troop withdrawals, and on units, strengths, and time schedules if he favored such withdrawals.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3408 to CINCLANT, 042313Z Jun 65.

The OAS three-man committee met with Secretary General Mora, the Papal Nuncio, General Alvim, Ambassador Bennett, representatives of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, and Caamano, but made no progress on a political settlement. Ambassador Bunker blamed Constitutionalist intransigence on UN representative Mayobre who, Bunker charged, was biased in favor of the Constitutionalists. Bunker believed that the Caamano group was likely to resist compromise efforts as long as there was hope of UN intervention.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 2236 to State, 042340Z Jun 65, JCS IN 90475. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2232 to State, 042130Z Jun 65, JCS IN 90315.

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5 Jun 65 The Constitutionalists formally complained to the UN Security Council, charging US troops with the previous evening's mortar firing that killed a woman and child. General Palmer's investigation, however, indicated that no US mortars or heavy weapons were fired and that no US or any other IAPF troops were involved.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 2257 to State, 052325Z Jun 65, JCS IN 91532. (S-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 052001Z Jun 65, JCS IN 91540.

The special three-man OAS committee met with Imbert and other GNR members. The committee also expressed its intention to have further talks with Guzman, the military leaders of both sides, "third position" elements, and the Latin American diplomatic corps. Meanwhile, representatives of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission inspected GNR and Constitutionalists prisons and reported to Secretary General Mora that GNR prison conditions were worse than Caamano's because of over-crowding, but they found no evidence of deliberate mistreatment. They also visited Santiago and San Francisco de Macois to investigate charges of GNR atrocities.

(S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 2257 to State, 052325Z Jun 65, JCS IN 91532.

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6 Jun 65 During the night of 5-6 June, the 82nd Airborne Division initiated a plan to increase the illumination in front of its positions, thus making it more difficult for snipers to fire into the ISZ. The Constitutionalist government protested to the UN and to Secretary General Mora that US troops were setting up military equipment and barbed wire within the Constitutionalist zone. General Alvim explained the operation to Mora and reaffirmed the right of the IAPF to take such action to protect its forces. General Palmer, however, ordered the work discontinued until the IAPF's liaison officers could discuss it with Caamano.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2280 to State, 071850Z Jun 65, JCS IN 92887. (S-EXDIS) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 080405Z Jun 65, JCS IN 93441.

All remaining US Marine Corps personnel reembarked and departed the area of the Dominican Republic, thus completing Phase II of USCOMDOMREP's withdrawal plan. The strength and composition of the IAPF was then as follows:

UNITED STATES FORCES IN DOMREP

US ARMY

HQ USCOMDOMREP	311
82d Abn Div	7,549
Non-Divisional Troops	4,385
TOTAL US ARMY	12,245

USAF

Hq CTF 121 (Advon)	18
507th TAC Cont Gp and Supporting Units	561
Det 1st Air Commando Wg	8
TOTAL USAF	587

US NAVAL FORCES IN AREA

Unit	On Station
Combatant & Support Ships	18

LATIN AMERICAN FORCES IN DOMREP

Brazil	1,129
Costa Rica	21
El Salvador	3
Honduras	250
Nicaragua	159
TOTAL LATIN AMERICAN	1,562

(TS) NMCC OPSUM 181-65, 7 Jun 65, 3-4.

The special OAS committee continued its efforts to achieve a political settlement. It met with Imbert, who emphasized the apolitical character of the GNR and the Constitutionalist's record of refusing to negotiate. The committee also met with Caamano, who stressed his willingness to step down for a leader who would rule under the 1963 constitution. The committee also talked with Latin American ambassadors and with UN Representative Mayobre.

Ambassador Bennett reported that Juan Bosch continued to broadcast speeches over the Constitutionalist radio system. Bennett noted that Bosch was trying to boost Constitutionalist morale, claiming that he had "millions of supporters in US who feel their government did wrong."

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2278 to State, 071148Z Jun 65, JCS IN 92625 and 2269 to State, 062330Z Jun 65, JCS IN 92164.

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7 Jun 65 Although the Dominican contending forces remained quiet, the IAPF increased its military activities. At 1100 hours it conducted a show of force, airlifting by helicopter two rifle platoons of the US 82nd Airborne Division to reinforce a roadblock in the city. The platoons remained in position for one hour before being redeployed to San Isidro. The IAPF also ordered Brazilian Army and Marine forces to relieve elements of the 82nd Airborne Division in the eastern part of the ISZ, thus placing the eastern part of the ISZ and the National Palace entirely in Brazilian hands. Deciding that guarding the embassies was a police mission, the IAPF relieved the 82nd Airborne Division of such duty, except in the case of the US Embassy.

The IAPF also made some progress in negotiating with the Constitutionalists to neutralize the electric plant and to allow tankers to discharge at their normal terminal on the east bank of the Rio Ozama.

(C-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 080440Z Jun 65, JCS IN 93442. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2278 to State, 071148Z Jun 65, JCS IN 92625. (S-EXDIS) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 080405Z Jun 65, JCS IN 93441.

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(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2294 to State, 082315Z Jun 65, JCS IN 94779.

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8 Jun 65 The IAPF continued its "show of force" in Santo Domingo. One battery of the 82d Airborne Division occupied two positions in the LOC, simulated fire missions, and then withdrew. In an unrelated incident a truck carrying three US soldiers blundered through a Brazilian check point into Constitutionalist zone and was captured. Caamano announced that the men would be released the next day. A USAF C-130 flying over Santo Domingo was fired on by Constitutionalists using automatic weapons, but was not hit.

(C-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 080440Z Jun 65, JCS IN 93442. (C-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 090514Z Jun 65. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2294 to State, 082315Z Jun 65, JCS IN 94779. (C) Msg, Santo Domingo 2308 to State, 091145Z Jun 65, JCS IN 95319.

The JCS, concerned with further deployments and withdrawals of US forces in the Dominican Republic, authorized CINCLANT, subject to coordination with the Ambassador and with the Commander, IAPF, to deploy the 29th Ordnance Detachment (approximately 49 persons) to the Dominican Republic. The JCS also approved a proposal of USCOMDOMREP, concurred in by CINCLANT, to modify the plan for withdrawal of US forces from the Dominican Republic. USCOMDOMREP recommended reducing the number of men to be withdrawn in Phase III to approximately 1,525 (instead of 2,000). The JCS recommended to the Secretary of Defense that General Palmer be authorized to discuss Phase III withdrawals with General Alvim and with the OAS Committee during 9-12 June, and to execute Phase III on or about 13 June 1965.

(S-Gp 3) JCSM-443-65, "Forces in the Dominican Republic (U)," 8 Jun 65, encl to (S-Gp 3) JCS 2338/23, same subj, 9 Jun 65, JMF 9128.4 (25 May 65). (S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 3586 to CINCLANT, 082300Z Jun 65. (The JCS recommendation was overtaken by JCSM-476-65, see 18 June.)

In an afternoon speech to his followers, Caamano repeated the demands previously laid down by the Constitutionalists as conditions for a political settlement. Ambassador Bennett reported that the tone of his speech reflected the increasingly aggressive Constitutionalist attitude recently noted by observers.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2307 to State, 090740Z Jun 65, JCS IN 95225.

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9 Jun 65 The Constitutionalists released unharmed the three US military personnel (one officer and two enlisted men) who had strayed into their zone on the previous day.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 100433Z Jun 65, JCS IN 96339.

General Palmer informed CJCS by telephone that Ambassadors Bennett and Bunker were opposed to any overt move to withdraw additional US forces until after 14 June, the sixth anniversary of the abortive Cuban-sponsored invasion against Trujillo and the anniversary of the founding of the APCJ. As a result, CJCS authorized General Palmer to discuss "on a quiet basis" with General Alvim the Phase III withdrawal plan, avoiding decisions or publicity until after 14 June.

(S-Gp 3) JCS 2338/24, "Phase III withdrawal of Forces from the Dominican Republic (C)," JMF 9128.4 (25 May 1965). (S-Gp 4) Msg, CJCS 3646 to USCOMDOMREP and CINCLANT, 092236Z Jun 65.

A hopeful sign occurred in the political situation when the GNR signed a pledge to respect the American Delegation on Rights and Duties of Man of 1948 (Caamano had signed the pledge the previous day). This encouraging development was overshadowed by Constitutionalist reports charging the GNR with a series of executions of prisoners between 22 May and 5 June at Haras Nacionales, north of Santo Domingo. The Constitutionalists provided Chairman Bianchi of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission with a map showing the grave sites of twenty, and possibly more, prisoners shot by the GNR. Bianchi visited the sites, but stated that he was unable to find positive evidence without digging.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2322 to State, 101144Z Jun 65, JCS IN 96899.

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10 Jun 65 The military situation remained calm in Santo Domingo while Constitutionalist charges of GNR prisoner executions dominated the news reports. The Constitutionalists captured a US soldier when he inadvertently crossed into their zone, but he was released later in the day. IAPF negotiations with the Constitutionalists for the expansion of the ISZ around the Santo Domingo power plant broke down. Without this expanded buffer zone, General Palmer was unwilling to risk passing that facility to the control of Latin American troops.

(S) Telecon Item, NMCC to White House, 110940Z Jun 65, (~~S~~EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 110350Z Jun 65, JCS IN 97986.

In response to CJCS instructions of 9 June, General Palmer discussed with General Alvim the withdrawal of two battalions of the 82d Airborne Division (Phase III of USCOMDOMREP's plan for US troop withdrawal approved by the JCS on 27 May). General Alvim was reluctant to reduce the US force until the political future of the Dominican Republic was more certain, and he suggested withdrawal of the battalions to Puerto Rico rather than to CONUS. General Palmer informed CINCLANT that there would be some merit to a two-stage withdrawal of the battalions first to Puerto Rico and later to CONUS. Palmer also suggested Washington-level pressure on non-participating Latin American countries for contributions to the IAPF.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 102205Z Jun 65, JCS IN 97726.

Chairman Bianchi of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission requested from GNR Foreign Minister Vicioso information relating to Constitutionalist charges of GNR prisoner executions. The GNR had ordered a thorough

investigation to avoid a repetition of similar acts, but denied responsibility for them, blaming a small group of armed civilians. Meanwhile, Secretary General Mora instructed the OAS Secretariat to send a special mission of three criminologists to Santo Domingo to investigate the executions and informed UN Secretary General U Thant of his action. After visiting the atrocity area, UN representative Mayobre reported to U Thant that he saw indications of recent executions, and he called for a complete pathological and technical investigation of the site. Throughout the day, GNR sources presented the IAHRC with information of Constitutionalist atrocities during the early days of the revolution.

(~~C~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2346 to State, 110442Z Jun 65, JCS IN 97965. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 2351 to State, 110727Z Jun 65, JCS IN 98104. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 2344 to State, 110429Z Jun 65, JCS IN 97966. (~~C~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2352 to State, 110653Z Jun 65, JCS IN 98109. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 2348 to State, 110618Z Jun 65, JCS IN 98047.

In anticipation of Soviet attacks in the UN Security Council on this matter, the State Department prepared to denounce atrocities by both sides and to point out to the Security Council that this would be the inevitable result if the IAPF and the OAS withdrew from the Dominican Republic. To support this position, the State Department requested Ambassador Bennett to submit details on atrocities by both groups for inclusion in a statement for a meeting of the Security Council. The Department also instructed Bennett to appeal to both sides to honor their pledges to respect human rights and to give every assistance to the IAHRC.

(~~C~~) Msg, State 1408 to Santo Domingo, 10 Jun 65, JCS IN 97329. (~~C~~) Msg, State (unnumbered) to Santo Domingo, 10 Jun 65, JCS IN 99834.

Although its efforts were overshadowed by the charges of GNR atrocities, the special OAS three-man committee continued to seek a political solution. The committee met with the Imbert and Caamano groups and found the latter to be nervous, irritable, and "offensively intransigent" on the constitutional issue. The Constitutionalists refused the committee's request to reopen the banks and to reestablish public services in the Constitutionalist zone.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2357 to State, 111122Z Jun 65, JCS IN 98557.

Ambassador Bunker informed the Secretary of State that intensive investigations of the past week had convinced him that a political formula meeting US "requirements" and acceptable to the various factions in the Dominican Republic would be "virtually impossible to achieve." He concluded that the only solution to the current political impasse was the formation of a provisional government of technicians to serve until the people could elect a permanent government under the supervision of the OAS.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 2323 to State, 101630Z Jun 65, JCS IN 97155.

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11 Jun 65 There was no progress in political negotiations and little military activity in the Dominican Republic. A battalion of the IAPF Latin American Brigade relieved the 2d Battalion of the US 325th Infantry in the west central section of the ISZ (from Avenida Maximo Gomez to Avenida Alma Mater). In compliance with IAPF orders, US troops secured two areas northeast of Santo Domingo reported to contain graves of GNR execution victims. In one area they found a burned body and a skull. The troops also searched two additional locations, but withdrew when they found no graves.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 120410Z Jun 65, JCS IN 99695.

CINCLANT requested JCS approval for the redeployment of 214 US personnel from support units no longer required in Santo Domingo. He also sought standing authority to redeploy, when appropriate, individuals in limited numbers from miscellaneous units.

CINCLANT submitted the following comments on General Palmer's 10 June suggestions relating to the Phase III withdrawal: 1) the two battalions should be returned to CONUS as soon as possible after 14 June; 2) there was no significant advantage in the interim location of the battalions in Puerto Rico; and 3) he saw no objection to raising with the OAS the question of US/Latin American force levels in the IAPF, but thought that there was little possibility of additional contributions.

(S) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 112044Z Jun 65. (S-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 112016Z Jun 65, JCS IN 99109.

In response to rumors of impending country-wide Constitutionalist violence on 14 June, the OAS Committee authorized General Alvim to send IAPF detachments

into the interior of the country if serious, uncontrollable incidents should occur.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2404 to State, 140630Z Jun 65, JCS IN 11233.

The OAS committee met with UN representative Mayobre and later with members of the Latin American diplomatic corps in Santo Domingo, but there was no progress in the negotiations for a political settlement. Both sides remained intransigent, the Constitutionalists denouncing any formula based on a new interim government and national elections. CINCLANT reported that Constitutionalist demonstrations were scheduled for 14 June. There were also reports concerning the circulation of an APCJ document calling on the people to prepare for an armed struggle throughout the country.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2364 to State, 112355Z Jun 65, JCS IN 99353. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2378 to State, 121155Z Jun 65. (S-Gp 1) Msg, CINCLANT to USCOMDOMREP, 120100Z Jun 65, JCS IN 99757.

While in agreement with Ambassador Bunker's 10 June ideas for the formation of an interim government in the Dominican Republic, the State Department concluded that it would be "extremely difficult to hold general elections within the time available this year." The Department requested Bunker's estimate of the prospects for the formation of an interim government and of the time required to obtain the necessary agreements for its installation.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, State 1427 to Santo Domingo, 11 Jun 65, JCS IN 07444.

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12 Jun 65 Public excitement increased in anticipation of 14 June demonstrations. Throughout the day Santo Domingo was filled with reports, radio broadcasts, and rumors of violence planned by the GNR and the Constitutionalist. The GNR tightened security throughout the country and arrested a number of radical leftists. Ambassador Bennett reported a noticeable sharpening of the Constitutionalist anti-US line, not only in its radio and press, but also in statements by Constitutionalist officials and PRD leaders.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2386 to State, 122350Z Jun 65, JCS IN 10548. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 2393 to State, 131110Z Jun 65, JCS IN 10859. (S-Gp 1) Msg, CINCLANT to USCOMDOMREP, 130148Z Jun 65, JCS IN 10663.

GNR troops interfered with two IAPF MP patrols in the northern part of Santo Domingo. US officials reported that the GNR were apparently challenging the right of the IAPF troops to move outside the ISZ, the LOC, and base areas. The IAPF made it clear to the GNR that it reserved the right to move forces anywhere in the Dominican Republic as required by its mission.

(S) Telecon Item, NMCC to White House, 131102Z Jun 65.

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13 Jun 65 A quiet Santo Domingo braced for violence in connection with the 14 June anniversary of the APCJ. General Palmer ordered all US units in the ISZ and the LOC to assume an increased state of readiness and placed the 2d Battalion, 504th Airborne Infantry, on a three-hour standby alert at San Isidro to provide a second rapid-reaction force for the 82d Airborne Division. The OAS three-man committee confirmed in writing its previous authorization to General Alvim for the dispatch of IAPF detachments to the interior should serious disorders occur.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 140345Z Jun 65, JCS IN 11199. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2408 to State, 141140Z Jun 65, JCS IN 11429.

A GNR rally in Santo Domingo drew a large and enthusiastic crowd, which entered the ISZ with IAPF approval and marched to the OAS headquarters at the Hotel Embajador where it was greeted by Secretary General Mora. In a series of speeches conspicuously lacking any anti-US tone, Imbert and other GNR leaders stressed their devotion to democracy and anticommunism. A Constitutionalist rally scheduled for the same day was postponed until 14 June at the reported insistence of the APCJ.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2400 to State, 132330Z Jun 65, JCS IN 11147. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2403 to State, 140405Z Jun 65, JCS IN 11207. (S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 140429Z Jun 65.

In Washington, former Dominican President Balaguer informed the State Department of his support for an "administrative" government for the Dominican Republic and suggested that informal approaches should be made to other nations that might support such a government.

(C) Msg, State 1433 to Santo Domingo, 13 Jun 65, JCS IN 11249.

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14 Jun 65 Despite the many rumors of violence scheduled for 14 June, Santo Domingo was relatively calm. Constitutionalist forces fired on Brazilian Marine positions along the eastern boundary of the ISZ at midnight 13-14 June. After a sporadic exchange of small arm fire, a Constitutionalist representative apologized to IAPF Headquarters stating that the firing had been a mistake and that Constitutionalist policy was not to attack any Latin American troops. In the first incident of its kind, a booby-trapped jeep exploded in the early morning when the driver started the engine. Seven civilians were killed in the blast, which occurred in the northern section of the city.

(C) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 150340Z Jun 65.
(S) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 150530Z Jun 65.

Deputy Secretary Vance directed General Palmer by telephone to discuss with General Alvim on 15 June Phase III withdrawal of US troops (2 battalions of the 82d Abn).

(S) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 150530Z Jun 65.

A Constitutionalist rally, postponed from the previous day, drew an enthusiastic crowd of about 8,000. The speeches were anti-American in tone and demanded violence. Caamano called on the people "to fight with him to the end or until we win, without one step backward."

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 2414 to State, 150150Z Jun 65, JCS IN 12324.

Ambassador Bunker informed the State Department that the emphasis of the OAS three-man committee's proposals for a political solution in the Dominican Republic should center on an agreement for elections. He feared that another attempt to create a provisional government without prior agreement to the election principle would embroil the committee in the same disputes over personalities and politics that had plagued previous efforts. He added that in putting forward the election proposal the committee would also urge the immediate establishment of an apolitical government for the interim period. To provide such a government with the necessary legal authority, the committee had been considering an "institutional act" to spell out prerogatives and functions. Bunker hoped to have the agreement of the committee to this proposal by 16 or 17 June and to present it to Imbert, Caamano, and the public on the next day.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 4) Msg, Santo Domingo 2405 to State, 140430Z Jun 65, JCS IN 11218.

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15 Jun 65 At 0730 hours Constitutionalist troops opened fire on US Cavalry Reconnaissance elements screening the Rio Ozama and at 0750 on US forces in the LOC with small arms, machine guns, mortars, tank guns, and bazookas. At General Alvim's direction, US troops advanced from their positions around the power plant. At 1100 they extended the LOC two blocks west and four blocks south to out-flank the main source of fire and to provide a buffer zone around the power plant. Having been outflanked, the Constitutionalist withdrew several blocks. At 1225 the Constitutionalists fired on Brazilian positions in the ISZ and at the National Palace. At 1645, again at General Alvim's direction, US troops advanced several blocks against little resistance. At 1730 the OAS Committee approved General Alvim's actions and granted the IAPF authority to retain the approximately 30 block area acquired in the two-phase operation. The day's operations cost the IAPF 2 US KIA, 28 US WIA, and 1 Brazilian WIA. Constitutionalist losses were estimated at 77 killed and 45 wounded.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 160725Z Jun 65, JCS IN 14310. (S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 170650Z Jun 65, JCS IN 15908.

UN representative Rikhye, who, General Palmer reported "had a particularly busy day trying to sabotage the OAS," was in the Constitutionalist zone during the early morning attack and tried to "sabotage" the OAS by sending a flash message to the UN repeating Caamano's charge that "North American" forces had started the fight. Rikhye justified the hasty report on the grounds that he supposedly could not get in touch with General Alvim, General Palmer, or the OAS Committee. Rikhye appeared at General Alvim's headquarters about 1300 with an offer to mediate between the Constitutionalists and the IAPF. Alvim informed him that mediation was not a responsibility of the UN, but of the OAS, and that the cease-fire was between the Imbert and Caamano forces.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 160725Z Jun 65, JCS IN 14310.

General Alvim reported the attack to the OAS Committee and requested that it protest to the Constitutionalists this "flagrant" cease-fire violation. The Committee approved Alvim's actions, authorized the IAPF to retain the extension of the LOC, and forwarded General Alvim's report to the UN Secretary General. Meanwhile, Caamano and Aristy broadcast statements charging "savage aggression" by interventionist forces and vowing to fight to the end.

(U) Msg, Santo Domingo 2426 to State, 152140Z Jun 65, JCS IN 13717. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2443 to State, 161208Z Jun 65, JCS IN 14501.

The GNR took no part in the day's action, and Imbert denied Constitutionalist charges that two GNR frigates had fired on their zone.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 2438 to State, 160250Z Jun 65, JCS IN 14094.

Because of the situation in Santo Domingo, General Palmer did not raise the question of reduction of US forces with General Alvim, as Deputy Secretary Vance had requested the previous day. General Palmer hoped to discuss the subject with Alvim in the near future when "an auspicious time" presented itself. Mr. Vance agreed.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 160725Z Jun 65, JCS IN 14310.

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16 Jun 65 At 1530 hours Constitutionalist forces opened heavy fire against US troops in the area south of the power plant. US forces held fire until the OAS Committee had adjourned its meeting with Caamano in the Constitutionalist zone at 1700 hours. At 1900 hours the Constitutionalists fired on Brazilian troops in the Palace area and along the eastern boundary of the ISZ. US forces suffered 1 KIA and 4 WIA during the day and Brazilian casualties totalled 4 WIA.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 170650Z Jun 65, JCS IN 15908. (S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2459 to State, 162320Z Jun 65, JCS IN 15478.

General Alvim submitted a detailed report to the OAS Committee on the 15 June violations. The Committee forwarded the report to the UN Security Council, stating that the defensive measures adopted by General Alvim had been discussed and approved by the Committee prior to their initiation; that the IAPF would hold the new position established on 15 June pending satisfactory assurances from Caamano that such violations would not recur; and that the GNR had not been involved in the 15 June actions.

(U) Msg, Santo Domingo 2450 to State, 161830Z Jun 65, JCS IN 15119.

CINCLANT concurred in General Palmer's proposal for the organization of a battalion headquarters and a headquarters company capable of controlling three

separate Latin American infantry companies in the Dominican Republic. CINCLANT requested the JCS to provide the necessary equipment for the headquarters when it was approved and manned by the OAS.

At the same time the JCS ordered the return of the USNS GEIGER to normal operations. The GEIGER had been lying off the Dominican Republic to assist in evacuation of US troops.

(C-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 160314Z Jun 65, JCS IN 14251. (S-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 162104Z Jun 65, JCS IN 15387. (S-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 4034 to CINCLANT, 162110Z Jun 65.

The OAS Committee met with Caamano and Imbert. Imbert pledged that his forces would abide by OAS wishes and refrain from attacking Caamano under any circumstances. Ambassador Bunker reported that Caamano, although maintaining that US troops had started the firing on 15 June, was still amenable to a negotiated solution. Because the negotiations were at a critical stage, with the Committee planning to announce its scheme for a political solution in the next 24 hours, Bunker and General Alvim asked General Palmer to try to maintain quiet for the next 48 hours.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 2459 to State, 162320Z Jun 65, JCS IN 15478. (S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 170650Z Jun 65, JCS IN 15908.

The Soviet delegate proposed that the UN Security Council go to Santo Domingo for an on-the-spot examination. US representative Yost told the Council that the Soviet proposal would only make the OAS task in the Dominican Republic more difficult. Yost called the Constitutionalist attack the most flagrant and serious violation of the OAS cease-fire to date and, like the Soviet complaint to the Security Council, had been timed to follow the Constitutionalist rally of 14 June.

(U) NY Times, 17 Jun 65, 18.

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17 Jun 65 After the heavy firing of the previous two days, Santo Domingo was relatively calm. In consonance with Bunker's effort of the previous day, General Palmer ordered US forces to return fire only when absolutely necessary US troops returned fire only twice during the day. In another incident, two US soldiers were captured when they strayed into the Constitutionalist zone. Caamano offered to exchange them for 30 of his troops detained

by the IAPF, but General Palmer was in no hurry to arrange the release of the two soldiers since they were captured through their own misconduct. It was important, he said, not to let the incident influence the impending OAS negotiations.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 180200Z Jun 65, JCS IN 17246. (~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 180258Z Jun 65, JCS IN 17348. (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 2470 to State, 171315Z Jun 65.

General Palmer requested CINCLANT to deploy immediately one tank platoon (5 tanks) with appropriate headquarters, service, and maintenance elements to the Dominican Republic. The advantages of a US tank platoon in the IAPF would: increase combat power; add capability in street fighting; provide greater psychological influence; and be useful in combined arms training. The presence of the tank platoon would also aid in persuading General Alvim to accept a further reduction of US forces in the Dominican Republic.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 171627Z Jun 65, JCS IN 16538.

CINCLANT requested JCS authority to redeploy the A/229 Assault Helicopter Company to CONUS.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 171902Z Jun 65, JCS IN 16964.

General Alvim again protested to the OAS Committee the unprovoked Constitutionalist attacks of 15-16 June, and the Committee passed the protest on to the UN. Meanwhile, General Palmer reported to CINCLANT that the APCJ, which was not fully under Caamano's control, was responsible for the 15-16 June firing in Santo Domingo.

(U) Msg, Santo Domingo 2480 to State, 182010Z Jun 65, JCS IN 17168. (~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 180200Z Jun 65, JCS IN 17246.

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18 Jun 65 The OAS Committee presented its proposal for a political solution to the Dominican crisis to Caamano at 0930 and to Imbert at 1100 and then released it to the press. The proposal provided for the following actions:

1. General Elections under OAS supervision within six to nine months.

2. Opportunity for all leaders of democratic political parties abroad to return to the Dominican Republic and to participate in the elections.

3. Immediate termination of the armed struggle with the return of all members of the regular armed forces to their barracks and the dissolution of irregular forces.

4. Surrender to the OAS of all arms in the hands of the civilian population.

5. Resumption of the nation's normal economic life.

6. Formation of a provisional government to serve until the elections and preparation of an institutional act to serve as a provisional charter until the people could decide the constitutional issue in a constitutional assembly to meet after the election.

To carry out this program, the OAS Committee proposed: the creation of a new OAS electoral commission to work with the Dominican Central Electoral Board in organizing and supervising the Dominican elections; the continuation of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in the Dominican Republic to assure respect for political rights throughout the electoral period; and the immediate establishment of an expanded program of economic and technical assistance for the Dominican Republic.

(c) Msg, Santo Domingo 2500 to State, 182225Z Jun 65, JCS IN 18572. (c) Msg, Santo Domingo 2475 to State, 180005Z Jun 65, JCS IN 17089.

Reaction of both sides to the proposal was cautious. Caamano characterized the plan as containing "positive elements," but requested three or four days to study it. He also requested withdrawal of IAPF forces from the advanced positions taken along the LOC on 15 June. Imbert stated that his government could accept "almost all of the proposal" although some points would require further discussion.

(c) Msg, Santo Domingo 2496 to State, 131635Z Jun 65, JCS IN 18075. (c) Msg, Santo Domingo 2497 to State, 182019Z Jun 65, JCS IN 18310.

The State Department was concerned that the OAS proposal did not deal with the Communist problem, but Ambassadors Bunker and Bennett noted that existing

Dominican laws made Communist parties illegal and that they "plan to make certain" that the Committee's "institutional Act" of the interim government would retain those laws. Further, they would try to influence the committee to exert influence on the new OAS electoral commission to assure an "anti-Communist viewpoint." With regard to the question of whether Communists could stand for election as candidates of non-Communist parties, the US Ambassadors "intend" that the "institutional act" would permit the deportation of known Communists. "We also mean to see," they reported to Washington, that the provisional government was composed of "firm anti-Communists."

(S-EXDIS-Gp 1) Msg, State 1478 to Santo Domingo, 18 Jun 65, JCS IN 17624. (S-EXDIS-Gp 1) Msg, Santo Domingo 2490 to State, 181010Z Jun 65, JCS IN 17639.

Meanwhile, in response to General Palmer's request of the previous day, CINCLANT sought JCS authority to deploy one tank platoon with appropriate headquarters, service, and maintenance elements to the Dominican Republic.

The JCS informed the Secretary of Defense that efforts should be continued to obtain General Alvim's agreement to the withdrawal of two US airborne battalions (Phase III withdrawal) from the Dominican Republic. The JCS saw no advantage in General Alvim's suggestion that the two battalions be located in Puerto Rico on an interim basis, nor did they favor discussion of US-Latin American force levels within the IAPF with the OAS in Washington. The JCS also recommended approval of CINCLANT's 11 June recommendations for immediate redeployment of 214 support personnel no longer required in Santo Domingo and for standing authority to redeploy limited numbers of support personnel in excess of requirements in the Dominican Republic.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 181548Z Jun 65, JCS IN 18030. (S-Gp 3) JCSM-476-65, "Phase III Withdrawal of Forces from the Dominican Republic (U)," 18 Jun 65, derived from (S-Gp 3) JCS 2338/24, same subj, 15 Jun 65, JMF 9128.4 (25 May 65). (For SecDef reply see 23 Jun 65.)

The Constitutionalists released the two US soldiers captured the previous afternoon.

(U) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 190330Z Jun 65.

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19 Jun 65 General Palmer informed CINCLANT that three battalions of the 82d Airborne Division were in a training status with no current operational mission and that a fourth

battalion at San Isidro could be relieved by Dominican forces. Although General Alvim did not favor further US force reductions pending agreement on a political solution, General Palmer intended "to persevere" with him on this subject.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 200252Z Jun 65, JCS IN 20122.

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20 Jun 65 Reaction to the OAS proposal of 18 June was cautious. Caamano announced his intention to negotiate on the basis of the proposal, stating that the proposal "could resolve the Dominican political problem peacefully." PRD sources agreed that the Constitutionalists had accepted the proposal in principle and predicted a PRD victory in the elections. There was no further GNR comment since the Imbert statement of 18 June, and GNR military leaders were also noncommittal, awaiting Constitutionalist reaction to the proposal.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 2517 to State, 200015Z Jun 65, JCS IN 20277. (~~C~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2524 to State, 210055Z Jun 65, JCS IN 20696. (~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2532 to State, 210550Z Jun 65, JCS IN 21131.

The OAS committee continued its consultations with Dominican leaders on the formation of an interim government. It met with the civilian members of Caamano's negotiating team and informed them that once a provisional government had been formed, the IAPF would be reduced to the minimum necessary to maintain peace in the pre-electoral period.

(~~C~~-Gp 4) Msg, Santo Domingo 2555 to State, 221850Z Jun 65, JCS IN 23276. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 2552 to State, 221345Z Jun 65.

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21 Jun 65 The Constitutionalists accused US forces of looting and drunken behavior in their zone, of confiscating all groceries in the possession of anyone attempting to enter the zone, and of harassing civilians. General Palmer declared these allegations false.

(~~C~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2547 to State, 220115Z Jun 65, JCS IN 22349.

General Palmer discussed with General Alvim the desirability of reducing US forces in the IAPF, but Alvim was opposed to any further US withdrawals prior

to a political agreement. Alvim agreed, however, that once a political agreement was achieved, the IAPF could be reduced to: 1) a US brigade force of three airborne infantry battalions, one 105mm howitzer artillery battalion, one air mobile company, one combat engineer company, and one medium tank platoon, plus appropriate signal, medical, and MP elements; 2) a Latin American brigade of one Brazilian Army battalion and two composite Latin American battalions; 3) a US logistic command appropriate to the total IAPF and certain other US forces, such as psywar, special forces, civil affairs, and MPs, necessary for a balanced IAPF. Both Palmer and Alvim agreed that the Dominican Republic might remain unstable for several years and that IAPF troops might have to remain longer than the proposed six- to nine-month period pending elections.

(S) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 220250Z Jun 65.

General Palmer also recommended to General Alvim the institution of vehicular IAPF patrols into the Dominican countryside. He proposed that daylight patrols with positive radio communications be sent out in three directions from Santo Domingo (east toward La Romana, north toward Santiago, and west toward Barahona) with the purpose of showing the OAS flag, sampling popular sentiment, supporting law and order, and exercising the right of IAPF to unlimited access in the Dominican Republic.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 220515Z Jun 65, JCS IN 22304.

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23 Jun 65 Deputy Secretary Vance approved the JCS recommendations of 18 June for the immediate redeployment of 214 support personnel no longer required in Santo Domingo and for standing authority for CINCLANT to redeploy support personnel in excess of requirements in the Dominican Republic.

CINCLANT while concurring in General Palmer's 22 June recommendations on troop reductions in the Dominican Republic, stated that serious consideration should be given to delaying the withdrawal pending some positive indication of early acceptance of the OAS proposal, and that it was not necessary to place the withdrawn battalions on short reaction time at Ft. Bragg.

(S) Memo, Dep SecDef to CJCS, "Phase III Withdrawal of Forces from the Dominican Republic (S)," 23 Jun 65, JMF 9128.4 (25 May 65). (Later summarized in (S) 1st N/H of JCS 2338/24, 25 Jun 65, same file.) (S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 231947Z Jun 65, JCS IN 24908.

In Santo Domingo, Caamano met with the OAS Committee and presented his reply to its proposal for a political solution. He recommended the following modifications: withdrawal of the IAPF not later than one month after the installation of the provisional government; reincorporation of all Constitutionalist military personnel into the armed forces at their previous ranks; surrender of all arms to the provisional government rather than to the OAS; and inclusion of the "Economic and Ethico-Social gains of the people" (the heart of the 1963 constitution) in the "Institutional Act" and ratification of the Act by the "Present Congress" (apparently the Bosch Congress of 1963). Caamano also requested amnesty for his followers to include freedom from penal responsibility for all actions connected with "recent events" except for common crimes. Ambassador Bennett commented that the Constitutionalist reply, while submitted in the form of modification to the OAS proposal, embodied all the conditions consistently advocated by the Constitutionalists as indispensable to a political solution.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2568 to State, 232315Z Jun 65.

Later in the day, the Committee met with Imbert to hear his reply to the proposal. Imbert offered "to expand [the GNR'S] membership or install consultative commission," and he suggested the following changes in the CAS proposal: elections to be held in nine months; immediate withdrawal of the IAPF upon the adoption of the proposal; reincorporation into the armed forces of only those who had not violated the military Code of Justice; surrender of all arms collected by the OAS to the Dominican armed forces within 15 days; "desirability" of deporting Communists; and the adoption of a constitution before the elected government took office. Ambassador Bennett noted that the GNR, like the Constitutionalists, tried "to save most of its previous position," but its response seemed "less forthcoming" and had a marked vindictive tone.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2577 to State, 241130Z Jun 65, JCS IN 25761.

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24 Jun 65 The JCS authorized General Palmer to discuss with General Alvim the withdrawal of US forces from the Dominican Republic on the scale, and according to the schedule, recommended by Palmer on 22 June. The JCS also directed the immediate redeployment of the 214 support personnel no longer required in Santo Domingo and redeployment, on a continuing basis, of limited numbers of support personnel in excess of requirements.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 4502 to CINCLANT and USCOMDOMREP, 241506Z Jun 65. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, JCS 4526 to CINCLANT, 242000Z Jun 65.

In a separate action, the JCS requested the Secretary of Defense's approval of CINCLANT's 17 June recommendation for the return of Company A, 229th Assault Helicopter Battalion, to the CONUS.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) JCSM-495-65, "Redeployment of Company A, 229th Assault Helicopter Battalion (~~S~~)," 24 Jun 65, derived from (~~S~~-Gp 3) JCS 2338/26, "Redeployment of Company A, 229th Helicopter Battalion from the Dominican Republic (U)," 22 Jun 65, JMF 9128.4 (17 Jun 65).

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25 Jun 65 In San Francisco de Macoria, a group of armed civilians overran the national police station and attacked the army barracks at the edge of the city. Heavy firing took place throughout the morning, but by afternoon, the GNR reported the situation under control. US helicopters flew an IAPF inspection team to San Francisco de Macoria, but the team received little cooperation from the local police and military authorities. General Palmer reported that 100 armed civilians had participated in the attack and that 8 had been killed and 37 wounded. Ambassador Bennett informed the State Department that available intelligence indicated heavy Communist involvement in the attack.

In Santo Domingo, mobs of up to 3,000 persons looted warehouses and stores in the Constitutionalist zone. Ambassador Bennett reported that another 3,000 persons passed through one checkpoint into the Constitutionalist zone with empty bags, apparently to join the looters.

(~~S~~) Msgs, Santo Domingo 2600 to State, 252245Z Jun 65, JCS IN 28114; 2613, 261140Z Jun 65, JCS IN 38950. (~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 260405Z Jun 65, JCS IN 28621. (~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 2619 to State, 262330Z Jun 65, JCS IN 29437.

In accordance with the JCS instructions of 24 June, General Palmer discussed with General Alvim the question of further US troop withdrawals from the Dominican Republic. As result, they agreed to the following: an announcement on or about 3 July, that a two-battalion brigade of the 82d Airborne Division (1,400 men) would be withdrawn from the Dominican Republic; completion of the withdrawal of one of the battalions on or about 10 July; and an indefinite withdrawal date for the second battalion. The date set for the withdrawal of the second battalion would depend on the situation at the time of the withdrawal of the first battalion.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 252330Z Jun 65, JCS IN 28195.

Commenting to the State Department on the various forms of provisional government that the OAS Committee might suggest, Ambassador Bunker favored a government headed by a single executive, since Dominican experience had proved the collegiate form of government unsatisfactory, and recommended against a provisional congress or legislative council. He favored, therefore, a provisional government with a president, a non-political cabinet, and an advisory committee of eminent persons and technicians.

(~~S~~-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 2612 to State, 260630Z Jun 65, JCS IN 28875.

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26 Jun 65 In Santiago, Police fired into a rock-throwing crowd and wounded three civilians. There were similar incidents in the northern towns of Gurabo, Licey, and Pimentel, resulting in three deaths. Ambassador Bennett reported that an "uneasy peace" reigned in towns where the Constitutionalists had been active; military and police patrols were much in evidence and a curfew was being inforced.

(~~S~~-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 2629 to State, 271155Z Jun 65, JCS IN 29823. (~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2631 to State, 272310Z Jun 65, JCS IN 30072.

The Paraguayan contingent (183 personnel) for the IAPF arrived in Santo Domingo and was placed under the operational control of the Latin American Brigade.

(~~C~~-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 270102Z Jun 65, JCS IN 29544.

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27 Jun 65 The Dominican countryside was tense but quiet, with the exception of an incident at Loma de Jeua where four Constitutionalists were killed. In Santo Domingo, looting continued in the Constitutionalist zone, but General Palmer reported that Caamano's troops were trying to control the looters.

The IAHRC team of criminologists, investigating alleged atrocities in the Dominican Republic, reported the discovery of five more bodies near the GNR Victoria Penitentiary.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2638 to State, 281130Z Jun 65, JCS IN 30415. (~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 280253Z Jun 65, JCS IN 30161. (U) Wash. Post, 28 Jun 65, 12.

In the political pause following the first round of talks on the OAS proposals for a provisional government, Ambassador Bunker submitted a lengthy assessment

of the situation to the State Department. Bunker concluded that the Committee's 18 June proposal was still the best available solution. He considered the GNR's refusal to stand aside in favor of a provisional government the major difficulty facing the Committee, but he was encouraged by reports that a new provisional government was acceptable to the GNR military leaders, and he hoped they would exert pressure on Imbert to step down. He added, however, that the GNR military leaders were "as anxious as Imbert for a solution by force," and they feared Imbert's removal "could open way for their own." Bunker believed, therefore, that restructuring the military establishment was essential, but he saw no prospects for radical changes in the military leadership in the near future. He considered the GNR's dependence on US financial assistance a source of "major leverage," but he expected to use this leverage only if "absolutely necessary." He reported that the Constitutionalists were still resisting the OAS proposal on the issues of communism, the control of the military, and popular approval of the Institutional Act, but he thought that these problems could be resolved once a provisional government was established. The Committee had concluded that Hector Garcia Godoy was the best choice to head the provisional government, and Bunker stated that if Garcia would give the Committee a firm commitment on "handling the Communist problem," a provisional government might be established during the next week. Bunker planned to schedule elections nine months after the provisional government took office with campaigning restricted to the last three months of that period.

(~~S~~-EXDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 2628 to State, 270530Z Jun 65, JCS IN 29668.

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28 Jun 65 Looting continued in the Constitutionalist zone of Santo Domingo, and Caamano's troops fired tear-gas grenades into a crowd of 400 persons. The Constitutionalist radio blamed the looting on persons infiltrated by the GNR.

(~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 2646 to State, 282330Z Jun 65, JCS IN 31201.

CINCLANT concurred in 25 June proposal for the withdrawal of a two-battalion brigade (1,400 men) of the 82d Airborne Division.

At the same time, the Secretary of Defense asked the Secretary of the Army if it would be possible to replace the 82d Airborne Division battalions in the Dominican Republic with nonairborne battalions.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to CJCS, 281240Z Jun 65, JCS IN 30583. (~~S~~) Memo, SecDef to Under SecArmy, 28 Jun 65, encl to (~~S~~-Gp 4) JCS 2338/29, "Deployment of US Army Troops in the Dominican Republic (U)," 1 Jul 65, JMF 9128.4 (22 Jun 65). (For Army reply ~~see~~ 1 July.)

The State Department agreed with Ambassador Bunker's 27 June assessment of the Dominican situation. On the Communist issue, the Department instructed Bunker to stand firm against Constitutionalist demands for a "no-deportation" guarantee, legal recognition of the APCJ, and laws which might impede control of Communist subversion. The Department considered Hector Garcia Godoy acceptable if the Committee decided to propose him as president. With regard to Imbert's sensitivity about stepping down, the Department suggested that the Committee obtain a commitment from the provisional government to issue a statement as its first official act, praising Imbert's services.

~~(S-~~Gp 2) Msg, State to Santo Domingo, 282300Z Jun 65.

Former Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer arrived in Santo Domingo and announced his support for the OAS proposal calling on the Constitutionalist and GNR leaders to step aside for a provisional government. He pledged his party's cooperation in the formation of the provisional government, but stated that he would not take office in that government since that would disqualify him for high office in the elections to follow.

~~(C)~~ Msg, Santo Domingo 2645 to State, 282230Z Jun 65, JCS IN 31090. (U) NY Times, 29 Jun 65, 1.

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29 Jun 65 The Deputy Secretary of Defense approved the JCS recommendation of 25 June for the return of Company A, 229th Assault Helicopter Battalion, to the CONUS. As a result, JCS authorized CINCLANT to return the unit to normal operations.

~~(C)~~ Memo, Dep SecDef to CJCS, "Redeployment of Company A, 229th Assault Helicopter Battalion ~~(C)~~," 29 Jun 65, attached to ~~(S-~~Gp 3) JCS 2338/26-1, 30 Jun 65, JMF 9128.4 (17 Jun 65). ~~(S-~~Gp 3) Msg, JCS 4798 to CINCLANT, 292156Z Jun 65.

In response to an Assistant Secretary of Defense, ISA, request, the JCS reviewed the current force objectives listed in JSOP-70 for a possible restructuring of the Dominican armed forces. The JCS concluded that the objectives for Dominican forces listed in JSOP-70--development of a small, effective joint service counterinsurgency force capable of reinforcing the national police in maintaining civil order and combatting guerrilla insurgencies--provided a sound basis for rebuilding the Dominican military forces once order was restored. The JCS added that the development of a

separate, unified constabulary-type force would strengthen the power of the military establishment vis-a-vis the civilian government; they considered such a force unnecessary, provided the police and military forces were adequately equipped and trained.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) JCSM-500-65 to SecDef, "Dominican Republic Military Forces (U)," 29 Jun 65, derived from (~~S~~-Gp 4) JCS 2338/21-1, same subj, 18 Jun 65, JMF 9128.4 (21 May 65).

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30 Jun 65 In reply to the repeated requests that IAPF lines along the LOC be withdrawn to pre-June 15 positions, the OAS Committee informed Caamano that IAPF forces would retain "for the present" their current positions. The Committee cited the following justification for its decision: the vital importance of maintaining the security of the IAPF in light of the casualties sustained in past weeks; the IAPF responsibility for observance of the cease-fire; and the need for unimpeded functioning of the city's power plant, which was included in the 15 June LOC extension.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 2673 to State, 302400Z Jun 65, JCS IN 34445.

USCOMDOMREP recommended to CINCLANT strength and organization figures for US units to perform peacekeeping functions as part of the IAPF during the period of a provisional Dominican government, pending OAS-powered elections, and to advise and train the Dominican Armed Forces during the same period. General Palmer recommended the retention of 6,744 US officers and men in the Republic: 1) an airborne infantry brigade of three infantry battalions, one artillery battery, one engineer company, one reconnaissance platoon and one tank platoon; 2) one air mobile company, and 3) a logistical support element to support the entire IAPF. General Palmer also recommended a command organization for the residual force consisting of a CG and headquarters, USDOMREP, to assume both the long term mission of USCOMDOMREP and the tactical command of US forces in the Dominican Republic. (CINCLANT referred USCOMDOMREP's recommendations to the JCS on 26 July. For his own comments see item, 28 July.)

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Ltr, USCOMDOMREP USFDR-CG to CINCLANT, 30 Jun 65, attached to (~~S~~-Gp 4) JCS 2338/32, 3 Aug 65, JMF 9128.4 (26 Jul 65).

Meanwhile, in Santo Domingo Secretary General Mora and Alexander Firfer, Director of the AID mission, signed an agreement whereby AID granted the OAS $17 million for emergency and recovery programs in the Dominican Republic. The OAS Committee stated that up to $8 million would be used for emergency public salary payments with the remaining $9 million available for recovery programs in both the public and private sectors.

(C) Msg, Santo Domingo 2664 to State, 300600Z Jun 65, JCS IN 33463. (U) NY Times, 1 Jul 65, 11.

JULY

1 Jul 65 The Acting Secretary of the Army informed the Secretary of Defense that his staff was preparing a plan for a "tailored army contribution" to the IAPF consisting of a 3500-man US Army Brigade with an additional force support element of about 4,700 troops for service support of the entire IAPF. This support troop figure was based on an assumed 5,000-man Latin American contribution to the IAPF. Since a Latin American commitment of this magnitude seemed unlikely, the Acting Secretary explained that the force support figure would be revised later.

(S) Memo, Acting SecArmy to SecDef, "US Army Force for Peacekeeping Role in Dominican Republic (U)," encl to (S-Gp 4) JCS 2338/30, same subj, 7 Jul 65, JMF 9128.4 (22 Jun 65).

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2 Jul 65 Constitutionalists attacked the police headquarters at Ramon Santana, northeast of San Pedro de Macoris; two police and two attackers were killed, and three police were wounded. Ambassador Bennett reported that with this exception the Republic remained calm.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 22 to State, 030550Z Jul 65, JCS IN 37584.

The OAS committee presented Imbert and Caamano a draft of a proposed institutional act for the interim government. The draft act included the following provisions: elections for president, vice president, a national congress, and municipal authorities to be held nine months after adoption of the act; a three-month political campaign to precede the elections; the convening of a constitutional assembly within four months of the elections, with the new congress deciding the composition and functions of the assembly. The institutional act was to remain in effect until the new congress acted to amend or replace it, pending final approval of a constitution by the constitutional assembly.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 030510Z Jul 65.

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3 Jul 65 President Johnson announced that two battalions of the 82d Airborne Division (1,400) men would be withdrawn from the Dominican Republic. The President said that he had ordered the withdrawal on the advice of Generals Alvim and Palmer and with the concurrence of the OAS Committee.

(U) NY Times, 4 Jul 65, 12.

In reply to General Palmer's 17 June request for the deployment of a tank platoon (7 tanks) to the Dominican Republic, the CJCS informed CINCLANT that the JCS were "reluctant to introduce these weapons, particularly at this time." General Wheeler added, however, that the desirability of deploying a tank platoon would be reconsidered when further reduction of US forces in the Dominican Republic appeared appropriate.

(~~C~~-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 5165 to CINCLANT, 031555Z Jul 65.

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5 Jul 65 A US MSTS tanker entered the Rio Ozama to deliver fuel oil for the Santo Domingo power plant. Although the OAS refused a GNR offer of naval protection, a GNR corvette accompanied the tanker to dockside and then stationed itself at the inner bend of the river with manned guns pointed at the city. The OAS committee and Secretary General Mora protested this action to the GNR, and the corvette was withdrawn. The tanker discharged its fuel and departed without further incident.

The US Embassy reported that Santo Domingo was rife with rumors of impending GNR military action against the Constitutionalists, and mortar shells landing near a church in the Constitutionalist zone and injuring three persons gave credence to the rumors. The OAS Committee directed an IAPF investigation of the incident. In a separate move the OAS met with GNR military chiefs and Garcia Godoy in further efforts to produce a provisional government.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 51 to State, 060604Z Jul 65, JCS IN 39886. (~~S~~-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 53 to State, 060700Z Jul 65, JCS IN 39944.

The IAPF continued to grow. Paraguay agreed to contribute a 29-man communications platoon to the IAPF in addition to the Paraguayan combat contingent already in Santo Domingo.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 51 to State, 060604Z Jul 65, JCS IN 39886.

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6 Jul 65 Heavy firing broke out at 2300 against the Latin American IAPF forces along the eastern perimeter of the ISZ. The Latin American troops returned fire and the exchange continued for a half hour, but no casualties were reported on either side. Constitutionalist headquarters charged that GNR agents had started the firing, but an IAPF investigation determined that the Constitutionalists

had instigated the incident. Ambassador Bennett reported that the attacks might have had several purposes, but he believed that the Constitutionalists wanted primarily to test the morale and reliability of the Latin American troops.

Both the Constitutionalists and the GNR presented to the OAS Commission proposals for a constitutional act. USCOMDOMREP reported that the Constitutionalist draft, based almost exclusively on the 1963 Constitution, would keep the Bosch regime in existence; would allow no deportation of any individuals from the country; would require the IAPF to leave within one month; and would require the integration of all Constitutionalist military into the Dominican services at their Constitutionalist appointed rank. General Palmer commented, that the Constitutionalist draft was "unacceptable," and he expected the OAS to so inform Caamano.

General Palmer added that the GNR draft act remained within the spirit of the OAS proposals. Of particular importance the General noted, the GNR proposal included a provision keeping the police under the control of the armed forces.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 072348Z Jul 65, JCS IN 42419.

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7 Jul 65 At 0100 hours Constitutionalists threw a grenade and fired 20 rounds at 82d Airborne Division positions in the center of the LOC. US troops returned the fire, but no casualties resulted. Later in the day, the Constitutionalists released a US soldier who had wandered into their zone the previous evening.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 072348Z Jul 65, JCS IN 42419. (~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 72 to State, 080537Z Jul 65, JCS IN 42667.

The IAPF investigation of the 5 July charges of mortar shelling of the Constitutionalists zone indicated that no mortar rounds were actually detonated. An examination of shell fragments from the alleged firing proved that the shells had not been fired recently. General Palmer concluded that the Constitutionalists had fabricated the story of the shelling to enlist UN and world support.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 072348Z Jul 65, JCS IN 42419.

The OAS Committee continued meetings with Dominican leaders of all political factions to discuss its proposed institutional act.

8 Jul 65 In response to Ambassador Bunker's request, General Alvim postponed the institution of daily IAPF reconnaissance patrols into the interior of the country until the OAS committee could consider the political implications of such action and give appropriate guidance on the matter.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 95 to State, 092130Z Jul 65, JCS IN 45438.

The OAS committee formally proposed to Caamano the names of Hector Garcia Godoy and Eduardo Read Barreras as President and Vice-President of the provisional government. After a meeting with his Constitutionalist colleagues, Caamano announced that an "important" decision had been made, but would be reviewed at another meeting of Constitutionalist leaders before being announced to the people.

(S-EXDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 88 to State, 090453Z Jul 65, JCS IN 44202. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 91 to State, 090519Z Jul 65, JCS IN 44277. (Garcia Godoy was a career diplomat who had been appointed Foreign Minister in the short-lived Juan Bosch Government. He was also a successful business man, the head of the Dominican tobacco industry, and despite his many years in the Dominican foreign service under Trujillo was considered by all a non-political figure. (From NY Times, 4 Sep 65, 6.))

The OAS commission of criminologists completed its investigation of atrocities in the Dominican Republic. Its final report constituted a strong indictment of the GNR for noncombatant killings. In view of the current critical stage of political negotiations, however, the OAS Committee requested that the OAS not publish the report at this time. Consequently, the commission merely announced that it had submitted its report to Washington.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 80 to State, 081750Z Jul 65, JCS IN 43578. (S-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 91 to State, 090519Z Jul 65, JCS IN 44277.

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9 Jul 65 Mortar firing from the northern area of Santo Domingo was reported. One round exploded in the LOC and three in the Constitutionalist zone. One Dominican civilian was wounded in the LOC; there were no US casualties.

In accordance with the President's 3 July announcement, the first of two battalions of the 82d Airborne Division began withdrawing from the Dominican

Republic with an estimated completion date of 11 July. Withdrawal of the second battalion and a brigade headquarters was "tentatively" scheduled to begin on 12 July.

(~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 159-65, 10 Jul 65, 1.

The OAS Commission listened to the first reactions of the Dominican factions to the Commission's proposed composition of the provisional government. Imbert and other GNR leaders "expressed unhappiness" with Garcia Godoy as provisional president and questioned the need for a vice president. Imbert submitted a list of 21 possible candidates, and told the OAS Committee that he was still considering turning the government over to the military.

The Constitutionalists accepted Garcia Godoy and Read Barreras but with reservations. Before final acceptance they wanted to learn the candidates' views on the OAS draft institutional act and on a Constitutionalist counter-proposal then being prepared on "constitutional provisions."

(~~S~~-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 103 to State, 100525Z Jul 65, JCS IN 46122.

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10 Jul 65 A crowd of civilians attacked three national policemen when they attempted to make an arrest in the LOC. One of the policemen panicked and fired into the crowd, wounding two persons. US forces broke up the fight; in the process one of the policemen was wounded.

The IAPF investigated the 9 July mortar incident, but was unable to find the firing site or determine the identity of the mortar crew. Both Imbert and his military leaders denied involvement.

(~~S~~-EXDIS) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 110150Z Jul 65, JCS IN 46799.

Ambassador Bennett reported on the latest developments in the OAS Commission's quest for a political solution. The Commission met with GNR and Constitutionalist military and political leaders during the day. Bennett noted that the GNR military chiefs had said they would support Garcia Godoy as provisional president if agreement was reached on the following: a disposition of the Constitutionalist officers acceptable to the GNR; retention of command by the present GNR military chiefs until the elected government took office; and deportation of all Communists.

Imbert had repeated his contention that a government (the GNR) already existed. At any rate, an agreement on the Institutional Act must preceed the establishment of a provisional government. He added, however, that he was "not against" Garcia Godoy as provisional president, but that before the installation of the provisional government it was essential to resolve the situation in the Constitutionalist zone and the disposition of the Constitutionalist military and the "hardcore" Communists. Caamano and his group had no objection to an early meeting with the Committee and Garcia Godoy to consider the remaining problems.

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 114 to State, 110545Z Jul 65, JCS IN 46924.

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11 Jul 65 As the result of continuing incidents in the LOC between civilians and GNR police, the IAPF increased its MP and reconnaissance patrols in the LOC, routing all GNR police vehicles around the LOC through the northern part of the city.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 120109Z Jul 65, JCS IN 47410.

The 1/508 Airborne Infantry Battalion, 82d Airborne Division, completed its withdrawal from the Dominican Republic. This left the IAPF with the following force strength:

UNITED STATES FORCES

US Army	10,490
USAF	429
MAAG	35
Total	10,954

LATIN AMERICAN FORCES

Brazil	1,146
Costa Rica	21
El Salvador	3
Honduras	250
Nicaragua	156
Paraguay	183
Total	1,759

(TS) NMCC OPSUM 160-65, 12 Jul 65, 3. (S-EXDIS-Gp 3) USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 120109Z Jul 65, JCS IN 47410.

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12 Jul 65 The OAS Committee and Garcia Godoy met with the GNR and Constitutionalists factions in separate meetings. Imbert presented the Committee a memorandum containing the same points he and his military chiefs had enumerated on 10 July. Caamano submitted a 28-point "general agenda" as a basis for further discussions. Caamano responded favorably to the suggestion that military representatives of both sides meet with the Committee to work out details of the amnesty, provisions involving the armed forces, and the surrender of weapons.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 136 to State, 130615Z Jul 65, JCS IN 48763.

Ambassador Bunker informed the State Department that "many difficult problems" remained to be negotiated in Santo Domingo, and he was not "sanguine" that matters would be resolved by 4 August when the Inter-American conference met in Rio de Janerio. He stated that "it would be highly undesirable for the Rio meeting to be confronted with major unresolved aspects of the Dominican situation," and he recommended postponement of the conference.

(~~S~~) Msg, Santo Domingo 126 to State, 122042Z Jul 65, JCS IN 48360.

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14 Jul 65 The IAPF initiated four joint IAPF/GNR police patrols in the LOC. Each patrol consisted of one vehicle with US and Honduran MP's and a second vehicle with GNR police. The Constitutionalists immediately protested to the OAS Committee.

Two Brazilian soldiers of the IAPF "inadvertently" strayed into the Constitutionalist zone during the day in a jeep, and were captured. Later, the soldiers were released with their equipment, including the jeep. The Constitutionalists had retained the arms and vehicles of captured IAPF personnel in previous similar incidents.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 150118Z Jul 65, JCS IN 51516.

General Palmer relieved the Headquarters of the 3d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, and the 1st Battalion, 505th Airborne Infantry, of all assigned missions, in preparation for redeployment to CONUS.

(TS) NMCC OPSUM 163-65, 15 Jul 65, 1.

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15 Jul 65 The Paraguayan communications platoon (29 men and equipment) arrived in Santo Domingo. These additional troops raised the number of Paraguayans serving with the IAPF to a total of 212.

(~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 164-65, 16 Jul 65, 1.

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16 Jul 65 The Headquarters of the 3d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division and the 1st Battalion, 505th Airborne Infantry, began departing for CONUS. A total of 751 personnel and 170 vehicles were to be returned to CONUS by a combined airlift and sealift to be completed on 21 July.

(~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 165-65, 17 Jul 65, 2.

UN Security Council President Morozov summoned the Council to meet on 20 July to consider the situation in the Dominican Republic. Morozov called the meeting at the request of Ruben Brache, the representative of the Dominican Constitutionalists, who had charged the IAPF with backing the GNR in a "plan of aggression." Meanwhile, the UN Secretary General reported to the Council that the situation in the Dominican Republic was "potentially explosive," and was becoming worse because of economic paralysis and military repression.

(U) NY Times, 17 Jul 65, 3.

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19 Jul 65 In accordance with the JCS authorization of 29 June, the Provisional Helicopter Company, 82d Airborne Division, assumed the duties of Company A, 229th Assault Helicopter Battalion, which began loading aboard the LSD SPIEGEL GROVE at Haina for redeployment to CONUS.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 200246Z Jul 65, JCS IN 57873.

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20 Jul 65 Approximately 20 rounds of 81mm mortar fell on the Constitutionalist zone near the eastern part of the LOC at 0205, killing one civilian and wounding another. The alleged source of the firing was the GNR-held northern section of Santo Domingo. Two IAPF investigating patrols questioned eye witnesses who claimed that the firing came from the Haiti School, north of the LOC. The patrol also found fragments of several 81mm rounds. The incident was reported to the OAS Commission which drafted a letter of protest to the GNR.

General Alvim used the occasion to renew his request for US counter-mortar radars. General Palmer told General Alvim that these radars were high-priority items and questioned their usefulness in a crowded city area, but said he would continue efforts to procure them.

(~~C~~-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 210219Z Jul 65, JCS IN 59591. (~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 210232Z Jul 65, JCS IN 59557.

Redeployment of Company A, 229th Assault Helicopter Battalion, to CONUS was completed. Three aircraft with personnel of Headquarters, Helicopter Co, 82d Airborne Division, 782d Maintenance Battalion (-), and Company D, 307th Medical Battalion (-), departed Santo Domingo for CONUS, completing Phase III redeployment.

(~~C~~-Gp 4) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 202130Z Jul 65, JCS IN 59178.

In the UN Security Council the IAPF was asked to withdraw from Santo Domingo by both Ruben Brache, the Dominican Constitutionalist representative, and Dr. Guaroa Velazquez, the GNR spokesman. US Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton stated that withdrawal would result in resumption of civil war.

(U) NY Times, 21 Jul 65, 1.

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21 Jul 65 Santo Domingo was quiet with the exception of firing by Paraguayan troops of the IAPF to disperse a rock-throwing Constitutionalist crowd. General Palmer reported that "further evidence" clearly indicated that General Wessin's force was the guilty party in the 20 July mortar incident.

Generals Alvim and Palmer requested a meeting with the OAS Committee for 26 July to discuss the military situation in the Constitutionalist zone and Caamano's use of the negotiation period to improve his defenses. They also planned to discuss the question of the disposition of hard-core Constitutionalist prisoners held by the IAPF; the negotiation of a one-block extension to the ISZ; and the question of how to curb the distribution of the Constitutionalist newspaper, La Patria.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 220154Z Jul 65, JCS IN 60986.

The OAS Council voted 14 to 5 to postpone indefinitely the Inter-American Conference that had been scheduled to begin 4 August in Rio de Janeiro. A major consideration in the decision to postpone the Conference was the Council's view that, since settlement of the Dominican situation appeared remote, a meeting during the crisis would be unsuitable.

(U) NY Times, 22 Jul 65, 8.

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22 Jul 65 The OAS Committee submitted a formal protest to the GNR on the 20 July mortar incident.

(C) Msg, Santo Domingo 215 to State, 221533Z Jul 65, JCS IN 61769.

General Palmer recommended to CINCLANT that the US deploy a tank battalion to the Dominican Republic as soon as possible. He also recommended that the present artillery battery be expanded to a battalion. These deployments would permit redeployment of an airborne infantry battalion. General Alvim concurred, estimating that these reinforcements would permit the withdrawal of an airborne infantry battalion in early August.

General Palmer also recommended that the headquarters, XVIII Airborne Corps, be phased out as soon as the table of distribution for a smaller, lower-ranking US headquarters had been approved by higher authority.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 221350Z Jul 65, JCS IN 61982.

In a meeting with the Constitutionalist negotiating commission, Ambassador Bunker obtained agreement on the following: the OAS could provide electoral assistance to the new government; human rights would be observed in accordance with OAS and UN declarations; the provisional government would settle Constitutionalist and GNR debts and have a free hand in selecting economic development programs; and constitutional problems would be resolved by the permanent government's assembly. Ambassador Bennett added that this agreement "clears away the underbrush of minor problems." Still to be solved were the major disagreements over the future of the IAPF and the Dominican army and the disarmament of Dominican civilians.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, Santo Domingo 229 to State, 230520Z Jul 65, JCS IN 62980.

In a meeting of the UN Security Council, representatives from Jordan, France, and Uruguay expressed concern over the GNR's cease-fire breach on 20 July, Uruguay adding that the UN could not long remain indifferent to the atrocities for which the GNR was responsible. The Council decided to review the Dominican Republic problem on a continuing basis, the next meeting being set for 26 July.

(U) Msg, USUN 141 to State, 230006Z Jul 65, JCS IN 63058.

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24 Jul 65 The Constitutionalists marked the beginning of the fourth month of the Dominican crisis by firing on US and Latin American troops along the LOC. Only the Latin American troops returned the fire. No casualties were reported. Shortly after the incident, a Constitutionalist officer reported to IAPF Headquarters that "some irresponsible drunks" had started the fight.

(C) Msg, Santo Domingo 252 to State, 250558Z Jul 65, JCS IN 65686. (~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to State, 260105Z Jul 65, JCS IN 66210.

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25 Jul 65 Eduardo Read Barreras announced that he would not serve as either vice president or cabinet minister in the provisional government because he believed the problems facing such a government were "too difficult." Specifically he feared that the provisional government would be unable to control the military or prevent reprisals and repression.

(C) Msg, Santo Domingo 256 to State, 252210Z Jul 65, JCS IN 66188.

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27 Jul 65 The OAS Committee delivered a revised draft of the proposed institutional act to Caamano and Imbert and discussed with both factions the problem of the vice presidency. Ambassador Bennett reported that the discussion with Imbert had been generally inconclusive and indicative of the GNR's obstructionist attitude. Further, Imbert had convinced the Committee that he intended to "hang on if possible," insisting that the GNR was the provisional government.

Caamano promised to study the new draft and asked the Committee to sound out Imbert on two proposed vice-presidential candidates. Caamano expressed a willingness, in the event Imbert rejected both, to agree to

the Committee's proposal to eliminate the post of vice president. Caamano also stated that his government was prepared to leave military problems to the provisional government.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 276 to State, 280535Z Jul 65, JCS IN 69312.

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29 Jul 65 The OAS Committee and Garcia Godoy met with Caamano and his advisers for further discussions on the proposed institutional act. The Committee took under advisement minor changes proposed by the Constitutionalists who reiterated their confidence in Garcia Godoy's ability to resolve problems concerning the armed forces. Garcia Godoy stated that it was unrealistic to expect the provisional government to take office without a clear understanding by both sides on "how problems would be handled."

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 289 to State, 300500Z Jul 65, JCS IN 72447.

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31 Jul 65 The Department of State asked Ambassadors Bennett and Bunker and General Palmer to estimate what action would be required, assuming that a provisional government would be established in the Dominican Republic with Caamano's consent, to restore order in the Constitutionalist zone. The Department asked: could order be restored by the provisional government alone using purely administrative measures such as stopping food deliveries into the zone, cutting off utilities, or stopping all movement of persons in or out of the zone? If military pacification proved necessary, should it be undertaken by the IAPF, the regular Dominican forces, or in a combined operation?

The Department also wanted an estimate of the measures necessary to restore order in the zone if a provisional government were formed without Caamano's consent and an estimate if the government were formed without Imbert's approval.

(C-EXDIS-Gp 1) Msg, State 165 to Santo Domingo, 31 Jul 65, JCS IN 74896.

The strength and composition of the IAPF after the completion of Phase III of USCOMDOMREP's withdrawal plan was as follows:

UNITED STATES FORCES IN DOMREP

US ARMY	
HQ USCOMDOMREP	285
82d Abn Div	5,541
Non-Division Troops	3,585
TOTAL US ARMY	9,411
USAF	
HQ CTF 121 (Advon)	2
Supporting Units	344
Det 1st Air Commando Wg	8
TOTAL USAF	354
MAAG	
TOTAL MAAG	36
TOTAL	9,801 (C)

LATIN AMERICAN FORCES IN DOMREP

Brazil	1,146
Costa Rica	21
Honduras	250
Nicaragua	156
Paraguay	213
	1,786 (C)

(~~TS~~) NMCC OPSUM 178-65, 2 Aug 65, 1.

1 Aug 65 Responding to the State Department's questions of 31 July, Ambassadors Bunker and Bennett and General Palmer noted that if a provisional government took office, even with Caamano's consent military force would still be required to reduce sporadic resistance by isolated hard-core extremists. Such military action should be undertaken by the IAPF, because to use Dominicans alone, or in conjunction with the IAPF, would merely exacerbate hatreds and harden resistance.

The US officials considered that the installation of a provisional government without Caamano's approval was highly improbable. Bennett and his colleagues concluded that, in the unlikely event that such a government was formed, IAPF operations would be necessary to sweep the Constitutionalist zone or to undertake a phased reduction of the area, depending on the type and strength of resistance.

The US officials also concluded that a provisional government could be installed without Imbert's approval, but would require the support of the GNR military and police. Without the cooperation of these groups, no provisional government could govern, unless the US or OAS were prepared to intervene on a "massive scale."

(S-EXDIS-Gp 1) Msg, Santo Domingo 311 to State, 020321Z Aug 65, JCS IN 75663.

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2 Aug 65 Ambassadors Bennett and Bunker informed the Department of State that they planned to "handle the Communist problem" through private agreement with Provisional President Garcia Godoy. They had prepared a draft memorandum of understanding for him to sign that provided: 1) the provisional government would "exercise all powers and resources at its disposal to check the growth and eliminate the influence of Communism and Castro-Communism in the Dominican Republic"; 2) no "Communists, Castroites or Castro-Communist sympathizers" would hold critical positions in the provisional government; 3) the National Department of Investigations would be given responsibility for organizing and coordinating all antisubversive activities; 4) appropriate US agencies would assist this Department by training personnel and establishing an adequate police communications system; 5) important information on subversive activites would be furnished directly to the provisional president by the US Ambassador; 6) the National Department of Investigations would keep Communists, Castroites and their sympathizers under close surveillance; 7) the provisional president would be furnished a list of all Dominican Communists and Castroites who had entered the country illegally and would arrest them under the law prohibiting the use of false identification documents; 8) the provisional president would issue a decree imposing heavy penalities for the illegal possession of weapons; 9) the provisional president would issue a decree prohibiting organization of political parties whose aims were incompatible with representative democracy; 10) the provisional president would issue a decree establishing a special committee on freedom of speech and press

to draw up a code of conduct, and to report violations to the provisional president.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 324 to State, 030120Z Aug 65, JCS IN 76799.

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3 Aug 65 The GNR armed forces and police leaders broadcast their latest position on key military and amnesty issues. The communique called for outlawing Communism and exiling principal Communist leaders, exiling Constitutionalist officers at double pay during the term of the provisional government, with the elected government "to decide next steps"; reintegration of pro-Constitutionalist enlisted men into the armed forces; and amnesty for civilians and ex-military men on the Constitutionalist side except for Communists and common criminals.

Ambassador Bennett reported that the communique had been issued without consulting the OAS Commission. As a result, the Commission assumed that the GNR's "military attitude had hardened."

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 334 to State, 040515Z Aug 65, JCS IN 78617.

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4 Aug 65 In view of recent evidences of growing GNR intransigence concerning the OAS proposals for a provisional government, OAS and US officials met with GNR leaders. Ambassador Bennett met with Imbert, urging him "in unequivocal terms" to step down and assist in establishing a provisional government. He told Imbert that the United States supported the OAS Committee in its program for the Dominican Republic, and warned him that the GNR could expect no more financial support from the United States. In a separate conversation with Imbert, Ambassador Bunker repeated the same warning.

The OAS Committee met with the GNR Service Chiefs to seek their support for the provisional government. Ambassador Bunker explained the Committee's opposition to the deportation of Communists on the ground that it would merely allow those deported to obtain training and funds from Communist-bloc countries. Bunker also emphasized that no more OAS "emergency assistance" would be forthcoming until an internationally recognized provisional government had been installed.

The reaction of the military commanders appeared favorable. They did not repeat their previous insistence that Communists be deported, and they claimed to have told Imbert that the only government they would support was a provisional government established by the OAS.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 353 to State, 060503Z Aug 65, JCS IN 81867. (S-LIMDIS-Gp 3) Msgs, Santo Domingo 350 to State, 052352Z Aug 65, JCS IN 81874, Santo Domingto 342 to State, 050506Z Aug 65, JCS IN 80377.

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7 Aug 65 After repeated efforts, the OAS Committee finally succeeded in getting a meeting between representatives of Caamano and Imbert to discuss military problems. Although the results of the meeting proved inconclusive, the officials did agree to further consultations with more representatives of each side in attendance.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 374 to State, 080615Z Aug 65, JCS IN 84601.

At the request of the State Department, Ambassador Bennett forwarded the texts of existing Dominican statues outlawing Communist parties and the 14th of June Movement. Ambassadors Bennett and Bunker advised against relying on these statutes as a means of controlling Communism because they were popularly associated with past regimes labeled by the Left as "repressive" or "unconstitutional." The Ambassador concluded that the provisional government would be in a stronger position to deal with Communist parties under laws emanating from Article 27 of its Institutional Act.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, State 188 to Santo Doming, 5 Aug 65, JCS IN 80530. (~~C~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 360 to State, 070538Z Aug 65, JCS IN 86355. (~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 373 to State, 080500Z Aug 65, JCS IN 84592.

Assistant Secretary of State Mann commented on Bennett and Bunker's 2 August plan to deal with the Communist problem. He advised against a "private agreement" with Garcia Godoy because it would eventually become public knowledge, placing the United States "in interventionist light" and might destroy Garcio Godoy's usefulness. Mann suggested that the Ambassadors: 1) show Garcia Godoy the draft memorandum of understanding and tell him that it expressed the US desired course of action; 2) seek a verbal understanding between the OAS Committee and Garcia Godoy covering high points of the problem; and 3) seek agreement with Garcia Godoy on the text of a letter that he would send to his Minister of the Interior and Director of Investigations on how to control the Communists.

Mann concluded that the provisional government's ability to deal with Communism would depend "to large extent on will of Garcia Godoy," and he asked if Bennett and Bunker were satisfied that Godoy had made no commitments that would impede his ability to deal effectively with the Communists.

Bennett and Bunker replied that it was their "current impression that Garcia Godoy may well measure up when it comes to will and firmness of purpose in office." They agreed to take the

specific steps suggested by [illegible], but mentioned that they could not give absolute assurance that the Communist problem would be effectively handled under the provisional government.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 373 to State, 080500Z Aug 65, JCS IN 84592. (~~S~~-EXDIS-GP 2) Msg, State 181 to Santo Domingo, n.d., JCS IN 85855.

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9 Aug 65 The OAS Committee presented its solution to the Dominican civil war to both sides in the form of the "Institutional Act" previously negotiated with them and an "Act of Dominican Reconciliation" presented to the two sides now for the first time. The Committee also distributed the documents widely to the Dominican population.

The "Institutional Act" provided for a provisional government consisting of a president and cabinet, with the president exercising full legislative powers except in such matters as declaration of war, approval or repudiation of international treaties, creation or suppression of courts, changes in military organizations, and declaration of a state of siege or national emergency. The Act also provided for general elections within nine months, with political campaigning limited to the three months immediately preceding the election. All parties "whose principles were compatible with representative democracy" might participate in these elections. The Act guaranteed to the Dominican people "all rights consecrated in the American Declaration of Rights and Duties of Man and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The "Act of Reconciliation" consisted of 10 articles: 1) the GNR and the Constitutionalists accepted the provisional government presided over by Garcia Godoy as the sole and sovereign government of the Dominican Republic; 2) the two parties accept the "Institutional Act" as the constitutional instrument under which the provisional government would exercise its functions; 3) the provisional government would, on the day it took office, proclaim a general amnesty and release all political prisoners; 4) immediately following the inauguration of the provisional government, the Constitutionalist zone would become part of the security zone established by the "Act of Santo Domingo"; 5) the provisional president would be responsible for maintaining order in the security zone and might call on the IAPF as required; 6) the provisional government would establish centers in the security zone for the collection of arms in possession of civilians; 7) the Constitutionalist government would deliver arms now in the possession of civilians under their jurisdiction to the provisional government; 8) as soon as the provisional government was installed all members of the armed forces who participated on the Constitutionalist side would rejoin their units without reprisals and at the rank they held on 23 April 1965; 9) no officer or enlisted man would be subject to punishment of any kind for acts,

except common crimes, committed [illegible] April [illegible] and 10) the provisional government would [illegible] negotiations with the OAS Meeting of Foreign Ministers regarding functions of the IAPF, as well as the manner and date of its withdrawal.

(U) Msg, Santo Domingo 376 to State, 060[illegible]Z Aug 65, JCS IN 84665. (C-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 377 to State, 080610Z Aug 65, JCS IN 84664. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 381 to State, 081817Z Aug 65, JCS IN 84969. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 389 to State, 092050Z Aug 65, JCS IN 85993.

Initial reaction by both Dominican factions to the OAS proposals was unfavorable. The GNR broadcast a statement calling for rejection of imposed foreign solutions, while Caamano, at a press conference, claimed the Committee proposal had caught him by surprise. He asserted that questions of amnesty, military reintegration, and the IAPF had been excluded from the negotiating agenda by common consent and would now require further study. At a meeting between Garcia Godoy and the Constitutionalist negotiating committee during the afternoon, Hector Aristy singled out articles 4 and 10 of the Act of Reconciliation for bitter attack and also objected to article 8.

(C-Gp 1) Msg, Santo Domingo 393 to State, 092329Z Aug 65, JCS IN 86593. (C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 396 to State, 100700Z Aug 65, JCS IN 86625.

The Department of State, with DOD approval, asked the Country Team to estimate what actions were required to modernize the Dominican armed forces. The modernized force was to be capable of maintaining internal security, providing a measure of coastal surveillance against smuggling, and guarding the Haitian border. Specifically, the Department of State wanted to know: was a single unified service feasible; could the annual cost of the Dominican armed forces be cut to one half the previous average annual cost; could the personnel strength of the Dominican armed forces and police be cut by as much as one half?

(C-Gp 3) Msg, State 204 to Santo Domingo, 9 Aug 65, JCS IN 86358.

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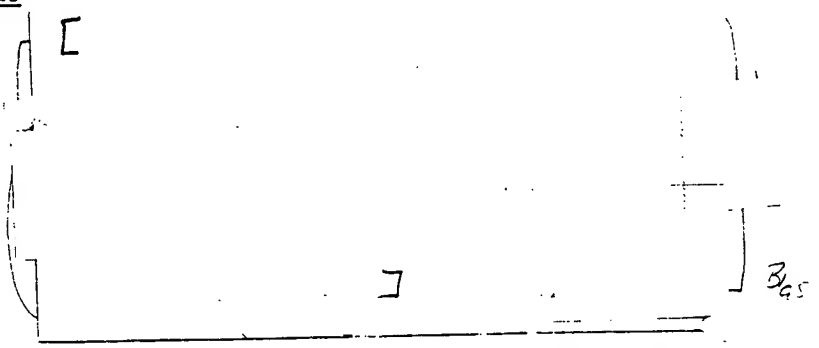
10 Aug 65 Imbert agreed to accept the OAS Committee program embodied in the "Institutional Act" and the "Act of Dominican Reconciliation." In Ambassador Bunker's opinion, Imbert's decision represented a final recognition on his part that without further financial aid and support the GNR could no longer survive.

(C-LIMDIS-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 399 to State, 102204Z Aug 65, JCS IN 87853.



(S-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 400 to State, 101706Z Aug 65, JCS IN 87893.

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11 Aug 65 Efforts by Garcia Godoy and the OAS Committee to overcome Constitutionalist objections to the "Act of Reconciliation" failed. During a morning meeting with Garcia Godoy, the Constitutionalists stood firm in their previously announced opposition to articles 4, 8, and 10.

In an afternoon meeting with the OAS Committee negotiations came down to the "gut" issue: the composition of the military high command. Ambassador Bunker came away from the meeting with the impression that the other issues--procedures for dismantling the zone, the future of Constitutionalist military personnel, and problems relating to the IAPF--could be resolved through some form of compromise. The Constitutionalists, however, were adamant in their insistence that the present GNR military leaders must leave their posts before the provisional government could be installed.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 416 to State, 120440Z Aug 65, JCS IN 89750. (S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 418 to State, 120600Z Aug 65, JCS IN 89831.

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12 Aug 65 Hope for a Dominican settlement under the OAS Committee plan appeared dim. The Constitutionalist foreign minister, Jottin Cury, telegraphed the UN Secretary General, requesting an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council to "take cognizance" of the "dictatorial manner" in which the CAS was attempting to establish a provisional government including "genocidal military officers" responsible for "systematic opposition to any democratic standards in our country." Cury said he also wished to alert the Security Council to the possibility that the IAPF might try to compel the Constitutionalists to accept a provisional government containing such officers by force.

(S-LIMDIS-Gp 4) Msg, USUN 341 to State, 121822Z Aug 65, JCS IN 91266.

The OAS Committee met again with the Constitutionalists to discuss differences concerning the "Act of Dominican Reconciliation." They continued to insist on removal of the GNR military leaders, but seemed willing to compromise on the other points. Specifically, the Constitutionalists agreed to a meeting with a representative of the IAPF to discuss revision of Paragraph 4, dealing with liquidation of their zone.

(~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 424 to State, 130545Z Aug 65, JCS IN 91515.

The JCS asked CINCLANT whether he wished to change the residual US force structure recommended by USCOMDOMREP on 30 June. This force structure had been based on the assumptions that the IAPF would remain in the Dominican Republic for 12 to 18 months and would be asked to train Dominican forces. Specifically, the JCS asked what modifications, if any, should be made to the residual force structure and headquarters JTD's in view of the possibility that these assumptions might prove wrong.

The JCS also asked what changes would be necessary if political circumstances were to preclude introduction of a tank company and artillery battalion; what should be the phased withdrawal to achieve the recommended force strength of approximately 7,000; and what alternatives were there to the command and control recommendations proposed by USCOMDOMREP.

(~~S~~-Gp 4) Msg, JCS 8093 to CINCLANT, 121836Z Aug 65.

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14 Aug 65 Ambassador Bunker reported that the Constitutionalists seemed to be weakening in their demand for the removal of GNR military chiefs prior to installation of a provisional government. In a negotiating session with the OAS Committee, the Constitutionalists offered "possible acceptable" language changes to Articles 5 and 8 of the Act of Reconciliation. The Committee, however, found the Constitutionalist proposal on Article 4 unacceptable and continued to insist on absorption of the Constitutionalist zone into the ISZ under the protection of the IAPF.

(~~S~~-EXDIS-Gp 2) Msg, Santo Domingo 441 to State, 152214Z Aug 65, JCS IN 94905. (~~S~~-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 440 to State, 150520Z Aug 65, JCS IN 94244.

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15 Aug 65 The OAS Committee, Garcia Godoy, and two Constitutionalist representatives concluded, after a long discussion, that a complete scenario for dismantling and disarming the Constitutionalist zone (Article 4) would have to be worked out prior to final agreement

on the "Act of Reconciliation." It was agreed that the Committee would meet with representatives of the IAPF and the Constitutionalists to deal with the question.

(C-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 444 to State, 160422Z Aug 65, JCS IN 95020.

General Palmer forwarded to CINCLANT his views on the questions the JCS asked CINCLANT on 12 August. General Palmer recommended that no changes be made in the proposed US residual force structure submitted to the JCS on 30 June. He did, however, recommend an alternative to the command structure of the residual force: the CG and Hq, 82d Airborne Division, should be replaced either by a Joint Hq, USDOMREP, or the augmented headquarters of the US residual brigade as determined by the JCS. As a transitional step, General Palmer recommended that the CG and Hq, XVIII Airborne Corps, be withdrawn and relieved by the CG and Hq, 82d Airborne Division. (For CINCLANT's comment see 21 August.)

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 151908Z Aug 65, JCS IN 14655.

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16 Aug 65 Constitutionalist Foreign Minister Jottin Cury sent a second message to the president of the UN Security Council repeating the charges made in his message of 12 August and requesting the Security Council "to intervene in an appropriate manner." The Soviet representative requested that the Security Council meet on the Dominican Republic.

(C-Gp 4) Msg, USUN 388 to State, 161817Z Aug 65, JCS IN 95770. (U) NY Times, 17 Aug 65, 31.

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17 Aug 65 The OAS Committee completed revisions of the "Act of Reconciliation" to meet the Constitutionalist objections while still retaining the principles of the original proposal. The major change was in Article 4, drafted in consultation with the IAPF command and stating simply that immediately following installation of a provisional government, all contending forces would begin withdrawing "their defenses" in zones under their control. When disarmament of the Constitutionalist zone was completed, the IAPF would withdraw from its present positions to a location determined by the provisional government.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, Santo Domingo 453 to State, 180035Z Aug 65, JCS IN 98026. (S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 170020Z Aug 65, JCS IN 96028.

At the request of Reuben Bracne, the Constitutionalist representative in New York, the Security Council postponed a meeting on the Dominican Republic indefinitely.

(Ø-Gp 3) Msg, USUN 409 to State, 180140Z Aug 65, JCS IN 98266.

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18 Aug 65 — The OAS Committee met again with the Constitutionalists ot discuss a revision of Article 4 of the "Act of Reconciliation." The Constitutionalists proposed that, because their people feared the IAPF, the OAS force should withdraw a few blocks, creating a neutral zone while the Constitutionalist forces destroyed their defenses and withdrew to barracks. The Committee rejected this proposal, but agreed to a meeting between Constitutionalist officers and representatives of the IAPF at OAS headquarters to discuss disarmament and the demilitarization of the Constitutionalist zone.

(Ø-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 466 to State, 190510Z Aug 65, JCS IN 99775.

[redacted]

(Ø-EXDIS-Gp 1) Msg, Santo Domingo 461 to State, 182200Z Aug 65, JCS IN 99740.

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19 Aug 65 — The OAS Committee met with Constitutionalist and IAPF officers to discuss Article 4 of the "Act of Reconciliation," but were unable to reach an agreement. The Constitutionalists offered no new proposals but merely repeated their demands of 18 August, which were still unacceptable to the OAS Committee and the IAPF command.

Later in the day, the IAPF submitted a proposal to the OAS Committee and Garcia Godoy providing for the dismantling of GNR and Constitutionalist defenses in the areas under their control as soon as the provisional government was installed. The IAPF troops would withdraw to their encampments, leaving lightly manned observation posts along their present lines. Existing checkpoints would be maintained but would be jointly manned by IAPF and provisional government troops, including former Constitutionalist personnel. There

would also be similarly manned, armed, trained to check on the disarmament process. All arms in the hands of civilians would be turned in to the Dominican police within 72 hours. After the provisional president was satisfied that demilitarization of the zone had been completed, the IAPF would dismantle all of its present positions and move to positions determined in consultation with the provisional government.

The OAS Committee accepted this proposal and planned to present it to the Constitutionalists as the maximum concession the Committee was prepared to make.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 471 to State, 200507Z Aug 65, JCS IN 11681; (S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 200207Z Aug 65, JCS IN 11746.

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20 Aug 65 The OAS Committee presented the revised Article 4 of the "Act of Reconciliation" to the Constitutionalists, along with a copy of a communication from the Committee to the OAS Meeting of Foreign Ministers, stating its intention to recommend adoption of a resolution on IAPF withdrawal. This draft resolution provided that "the manner and date of withdrawal of the IAPF will be determined by the provisional government together with the 10th MFM, at the initiative of the president of the provisional government when he considers it desirable." This draft resolution was intended to overcome Constitutionalist objections to Article 10 of the "Act of Reconciliation."

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 484 to State, 210100Z Aug 65, JCS IN 13152.

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21 Aug 65 CINCLANT concurred in USCOMDOMREP's recommendations of 15 August on residual force structure, with certain reservations. Assuming that the IAPF would remain in the Dominican Republic for 12 to 18 months, CINCLANT recommended that the CG and Hq, 82d Airborne Division, should assume USCOMDOMREP's mission and headquarters effective only upon the establishment of a provisional government. He also recommended that the CG and Hq, XVIII Airborne Corps, be withdrawn to CONUS when relieved and that a JTD Hq USDOMREP be approved and established as expeditiously as possible to assume the long term mission of USCOMDOMREP.

(S-Gp 4) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 211602Z Aug 65, JCS IN 14584.

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22 Aug 65 Following two days of bitter debate, the PRD members of the Constitutionalist government finally managed to obtain governmental consent, over the strong objections of Cury and Aristy, to the revised Article 4 of the "Act of Reconciliation." Constitutionalist acceptance was made contingent, however, upon a change

specifying that IAPF check points would be manned only by IAPF troops and not jointly as proposed in the Committee draft. In consultation with the IAPF command, the Committee agreed to accept the change.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 489 to State, 212306Z Aug 65, JCS IN 14514. (S) Msgs, Santo Domingo 498 to State, 230104Z Aug 65, JCS IN 15359 and 500, 230907Z Aug 65, JCS IN 15411.

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23 Aug 65 The Constitutionalists announced that when signing the Act of Reconciliation, they would make a formal reservation to the effect that, contrary to the resolution of the Meeting of Foreign Ministers creating the IAPF, the Dominican Provisional Government would possess the exclusive and sovereign right to decide the date of withdrawal of the IAPF from Dominican territory. The Constitutionalists also sent messages to the Presidents of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatamala, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela requesting them to instruct their delegates to the Meeting of Foreign Ministers to seek a change in the resolution acknowledging "the right vested in the Provisional Government to decide regarding the withdrawal of the Inter-American Peace Force from Dominican territory by virtue of the powers inherent in a free and independent state."

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 504 to State, 240143Z Aug 65, JCS IN 16574, (U) Msg, Santo Domingo 505 to State, 240146Z Aug 65, JCS IN 18420.

Constitutionalist acceptance of the Act of Reconciliation did not, however, lead immediately to installation of the provisional government. Imbert, when presented with the amended version of the Act, declined to sign it at once on the ground that the changes would require legal study. Reacting to Imbert's statement, President Johnson informed Ambassador Bunker that it was time to "apply maximum persuasion" to get Imbert to sign the Act.

(U) Wash Post, 24 Aug 65, 6. (S) Msg, State 278 to Santo Domingo, 23 Aug 65, JCS IN 16793.

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24 Aug 65 The need for "maximum persuasion" of Imbert by the United States became evident when the GNR military chiefs insisted upon a number of changes in the revised Act of Reconciliation to specify that the Provisional Government would be responsible for public order in the Constitutionalist zone, to set a time limit on the disarmament process, to provide that surrendered weapons be returned to national arsenals, and to guarantee that "promotions" given Constitutionalist officers would not be recognized.

Ambassador Bunker, moving to apply "maximum persuasion," told the GNR military leaders that the revised draft represented a rejection of all the major Constitutionalist objectives and was actually a stronger document than the original version. Bunker also explained that Garcia Godoy had developed sound plans for handling the Communist problem and had agreed to accept US expert assistance. The military chiefs, however, seemed distrustful of Garcia, fearing that he had entered into some secret understanding with Caamano detrimental to the armed forces.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 520 to State, 250550Z Aug 65, JCS IN 18651.

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25 Aug 65 Replying to the State Department request of 9 August, the Dominican Country Team submitted its views and recommendations on future Dominican security forces. The Country Team recommended: 1) development of an armed force capable of maintaining effective security against violence in cities that could not be handled by the police, guerrilla outbreaks in the countryside, movement of arms and persons across land, sea, and air borders for subversive purposes, and contraband activities originating from abroad; 2) establishment of a clearly defined relationship between the armed forces and the police in which the latter would perform normal police functions and the former would deal with situations the police could not control; 3) development of a competent professional officer corps that was resistant to Communist infiltration, dedicated to preservation of the unity of the armed forces, and determined to support the policies of a freely elected democratic government; 4) development of policies and information programs in the Dominican security force to counter public criticism; 5) reduction of interservice antagonisms that diminished the armed forces capability to provide the government with a stable power base; and 6) limitation of expenditures to the minimum required to discharge security functions.

The Country Team recommended resuming the long-range MAP for the Dominican Republic. The program called for the attainment of FY 1970 force objectives of one Army brigade, 12 Navy patrol vessels and 53 Air Force aircraft; development of a well-trained and equipped police force with an academy staffed by US-trained Dominicans; and the establishment of a centralized security forces procurement system. In addition, the Country Team recommended that: the Armed Forces Training Center and the Naval Academy be merged into a single tri-service academy; the Armed Forces Training Center combat forces be integrated into the Army; the police be reduced from 9,000 to 5,000; civic action programs be designed to improve the public image of the security forces; and administrative reforms be designed to combat corruption and gradually reduce the size of the security forces.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 524 to State, 251830Z Aug 65, JCS IN 20461.

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28 Aug 65

(S-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 552 to State, 290010Z Aug 65, JCS IN 24633.

As an additional form of pressure on Imbert and his military commanders to accept the Act, Ambassador Bunker recommended to the Department of State that President Johnson made a public statement praising the OAS Committee's proposal in its present form and expressing the conviction that its adoption would lead to a fair, honorable, and democratic solution of the Dominican conflict.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, Santo Domingo 549 to State, 282037Z Aug 65, JCS IN 24346.

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29 Aug 65 In response to Ambassador Bunker's recommendation, President Johnson, at a press conference, urged the GNR to accept the OAS Committee proposals. The President said, "The time for agreement is now. . . . Any who continue to oppose the O.A.S. solution are not friends of peace."

(U) NY Times, 30 Aug 65, 8.

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30 Aug 65 A prolonged military engagement broke out between the Latin American Brigade of the IAPF and the Constitutionalists, who began the fight with small arms fire directed at Brazilian troops in the area of the National Palace. The fighting spread south along the Brazilian lines to the sea. In addition to small arms, the Latin American troops used machine guns, 106 and 57mm recoilless rifles, and 3.5-inch rocket launchers.

During the fight, between 80 and 90 mortar rounds were fired on the Constitutionalist zone. By use of counter-mortar radar, the IAPF learned that the rounds had been fired from GNR territory north of the LOC. Subsequent investigation by the GNR military command fixed the blame on General Wessin's Armed Force Training Center troops who were not under effective control of the GNR high command. To prevent a recurrence of the fighting, the IAPF and GNR organized joint patrols to investigate any mortar firing in the area north of the LOC.

(S-EXDIS-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 302300Z Aug 65, JCS IN 26671.

Imbert and the other members of the GNR resigned in favor of the OAS-proposed Provisional Government, but without having signed the Act of Reconciliation.

The GNR military chiefs, however, assured Ambassador Bunker that they wanted to push ahead with the OAS Committee proposal and the installation of the Provisional Government as soon as possible. Bunker, in reporting this last information to the Department of State, said that President Johnson's press conference statement had "made a strong impression here and [had] helped greatly in giving the situation its presently more favorable aspect."

(S) Msg, Santo Domingo 563 to State, 310104Z Aug 65, JCS IN 26620. (S-LIMDIS) Msg, Santo Domingo 565 to State, 310319Z Aug 65, JCS IN 26800.

USCOMDOMREP recommended to CINCLANT that a tank company be deployed to the Dominican Republic as soon as possible to become a part of the US residual force and that an airborne infantry battalion be withdrawn as soon as deployment of the tank company had been approved. Ambassadors Bennett and Bunker concurred in the recommendation, and Bunker had obtained OAS Committee approval for the deployment. General Alvim had agreed to release an airborne infantry battalion prior to arrival, but with a firm commitment of a tank company.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, USCOMDOMREP to CINCLANT, 301850Z Aug 65, JCS IN 26300.

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31 Aug 65 The two opposing Dominican factions gave official approval to the Act of Reconciliation, thereby paving the way for installation of a provisional government. Caamano and his chief aids signed for

the Constitutionalists. In lieu of signatures by the GNR, which had resigned, the GNR armed forces chiefs signed a declaration stating they accepted the Act and would support Garcia Godoy as Provisional President.

The Act, in its final form, contained the following 10 provisions:

1. The 'constitutional government' accepts the provisional government presided over by Dr. Hector Garcia-Godoy as the sovereign and sole government for the establishment and consolidation of political peace as well as for the recovery of the national economy.

2. The parties accept the Institutional Act [proposed basic law regulating the powers of the legislative and executive branches] that is subject to the present accord as the constitutional document under which the provisional government will exercise its functions. No previous constitution will be in effect while the aforementioned Institutional Act, whose text is an annex to the present accord, is operative.

3. On the day of its installation the provisional government will decree the general amnesty foreseen in Article II of the Institutional Act, and will take the necessary measures to free all political prisoners.

4. Immediately after installment of the provisional government the contending forces will begin the process of withdrawing their defense forces in the zones at present under their control. The inter-American peace force will withdraw to its encampments, leaving in the present lines only barbed-wire positions and reduced posts of vigilance.

The demilitarization and disarmament of civilians will start at once in the constitutionalist zone. The present checkpoints will be operated during the disarmament period by elements of the inter-American peace force.

The posts of vigilance and the checkpoints of the inter-American peace force will be withdrawn as soon as the provisional government has effected the demilitarization of the [constitutionalist] zone and the disarmament of civilians. The Provisional government will take all necessary measures to verify enactment of the provisions of this article.

The provisional President will indicate the areas whereto the inter-American peace force will move until the date of its departure from the country is determined.

5. The provisional government will be responsible for maintaining public order in the entire national territory, and to this end will take all measures that it deems necessary.

6. As soon as it is installed, the provisional government will establish special points for recovery of arms in the hands of the civil population. These points will be in charge of persons designated by the provisional government. The provisional government will decide when the recovered arms will be returned to the arsenals of the nation.

7. The present 'constitutional government' will take all necessary measures to assure that within a prudential period after installation of the provisional government all weapons at present in the hands of the civil population under its control will be delivered to the established posts in conformity with the preceding article. The provisional government will take such measures as are necessary to recover arms that have not been delivered voluntarily.

8. After installation of the provisional government the armed forces will return to their barracks and place themselves under the orders of their Commander in Chief, the provisional President. Those armed force members who have participated in the present conflict will be reintegrated into the armed forces without discriminations or reprisals.

9. In conformity with the declaration of general amnesty, no officer, other rank or other armed forces personnel may be subjected to court martial or punished for actions committed after April 23, 1965, with the exception of common crimes.

All members of the armed forces who want to go into retirement may do so in conformity with procedures laid down by the Organic Law of the Armed Forces, and with the pension payments due them. All armed forces members who desire to leave the country may do so with the guarantees of the case and with the assistance of the provisional government.

10. The provisional government will at once start negotiations with the 10th consultative meeting of foreign ministers as to the modalities and the date of the withdrawal of the inter-American peace force from the national territory. . . .

(C) Msgs, Santo Domingo 581 to State, 010205Z Sep 65, JCS IN 28281; 583, 010443Z Sep 65, JCS IN 28621; 584, 010514Z Sep 65, JCS IN 28515. (U) NY Times, 1 Sep 65, 10.

CINCLANT recommended that the JCS approve the deployment of one medium tank company for inclusion in the US residual force for the Dominican Republic as outlined by USCOMDOMREP on 30 August. He added, however, that the company whould not be deployed until a provisional government had been established. He also recommended that one airborne infantry battalion be redeployed from the Dominican Republic to CONUS as soon as the tank company was authorized.

(S-Gp 3) Msg, CINCLANT to JCS, 311600Z Aug 65, JCS IN 27480.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS, SEPTEMBER 1965 - SEPTEMBER 1966

Garcia Godoy was inaugurated Provisional President of the Dominican Republic on 4 September 1965. The new president immediately faced the formidable task of enforcing the provisions of the Act of Reconciliation. Despite the mounting opposition of both factions, the new government did make some progress during September and October. On 4 September Caamano dissolved the Constitutionalist government and on 9 September General Wessin y Wessin left the country for Florida. On 25 September, the second anniversary of his exile, Juan Bosch returned to Santo Domingo, and on 14 October, in compliance with the provisional agreements, Caamano withdrew his 1,400 man force from the city in preparation for its reintegration into the regular army.

The IAPF, numbering approximately 8,200 men, was on duty in the area. The residual US force structure had not finally been decided on until 25 September. At that time the Deputy Secretary of Defense, with the concurrence of Assistant Secretary of State Mann, approved the structure recommended by USCOMDOMREP and CINCLANT (see items 30 June and 28 July), which had been endorsed by the JCS on 4 September.

Opposition to the provisional government, especially from the political right, created an explosive situation in late October. The right-wing military leaders refused to allow Caamano's forces to be integrated into the army and accused Garcia Godoy of being too liberal with the Communist and left-wing factions. Riots broke out in the center of Santo Domingo, and the country was rife with rumors of a right-wing coup. Rival labor unions clashed on the Santo Domingo waterfront, and troops from the former GNR units swept through Santo Domingo and occupied the Ozama Fortress. Garcia Godoy tried to defuse the situation. He had the IAPF occupy portions of central Santo Domingo, and on 27 November the government arrested 48 persons for trying to engineer a coup. Finally on 6 January Garcia Godoy, in a major effort to control the situation, exiled the military leaders of both factions. In the ensuing months the Provisional President returned his country to relative calm by placating first one faction then the other by a series of appointments, exiles, recalls, and promotions.

Campaigning for the 1 June elections began in March. The major candidates were the former presidents Bosch and Joaquin Balaguer. Balaguer won with a 225,000 plurality; his party also captured 22 of the 27 senate seats and 48 of the 74 house seats. Bosch accepted the results, but refused a cabinet position in the new government, which was to be inaugurated on 1 July.

The Council of the OAS met on 24 June to draw up a timetable for the withdrawal of the IAPF. The withdrawal was to begin on 30 June and be completed within 90 days of Balaguer's inauguration. On 30 June the first contingents (units from the 82d Airborne Division) left the Dominican Republic, and finally, on 21 September, the last units of the IAPF (115 men of the USAF) flew out of San Isidro airfield.

(~~C~~-Gp 4) JCSM 674-65 to SecDef, "Residual Force Structure, United States Forces Dominican Republic (U)," 4 Sep 65, derived from (~~C~~-Gp 4) JCS 2338/32-3, same subj, 2 Sep 65. (~~C~~) Memo, DepAsst SecDef/Admin to CJCS, same subj, 25 Sep 65, attached to (~~C~~-Gp 4) 1st N/H of JCS 2338/32-3, 29 Sep 65. All in JMF 9128.4 (26 Jul 65). (U) NY Times, 23 Sep 66,3. (U) Keesings Archives, 1965-1966.

APPENDIX

REFUGEE EVACUATION

Date	No. Evacuated
27 April	1,172
28 April	215
29-30 April	1,510
1- 3 May	253
4 May	120
5 May	1,047
9 May	120
Total	4,437 (2,711 US)

(c) Cumulative Casualties Incurred by US Military Forces in the Dominican Republic - 28 April 65-13 January 66

	KIA	WIA
Army	15	134
Marine	9	28
Navy	2	2
Air Force	0	1
Total	26	165

LATIN AMERICAN FORCES - DOMREP

Initial Arrival Date	Country	Initial Strength
14 May	Honduras	250
15 May	Nicaragua	166
15 May	Costa Rica	21
23 May	Brazil	23 (advance party)
26 June	Paraguay	184

Latin American Forces in DOMREP as of 17 January 1966

Brazil	1,136
Costa Rica	21
Honduras	249
Nicaragua	158
Paraguay	215
Total Latin American Forces	1,779